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Honorable Carl Hayden United States Senate Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Senator Hayden;

I was indeed interested in the many tributes paid you by your friends and colleagues in the Senate yesterday.

Your record of service in the Congress of the United States for a period of fifty years is truly remarkable. The assistance and guidance which you have given this Agency over the years have been most helpful and are deeply appreciated.

I should like to join those who have congratulated you on your accomplishments and to extend my personal best wishes for the future.

Sincerely,

Signen

John A. McCone

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power and control effectively. He should act promptly and decisively.

The time in which he has to act grows shorter and shorter. Continued weakness in our cold war posture can only result in a progressive deterioration of our military posture. The ignominious defeat suffered by France in World War II sprang from her concentration on Maginot line defenses. The Germans ignored them with a bypass move through the low countries. Similarly, in the struggle with communism we cannot safely concentrate only on its military aspects and our hot war defenses, leaving our cold war ramparts essentially disorganized and inadequately guarded.

The Congress, too, should give attention to its organization and procedures which need revising so that cold war responsibilities may be pinpointed rather than diffused. It is my intention to make legislative recommendations in this regard at a later time.

# THE HONORABLE CARL HAYDEN

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. Morris K. Udall] is recognized for 30 minutes.

MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, 50 years ago last Wednesday my State, the State of Arizona, ended a 40-year quest for statehood. Throughout those decades, statehood was opposed by men as eminent as Daniel Webster who once described the territory of Arizona as a barren wasteland covered only by shifting sands and populated only by prairie dogs and rattlesnakes. Five days later-5 days after February 14, 1912, on another Monday, a young man about 35 years old got off a train here in Washington and took the oath of office as U.S. Congressman from Arizona. He is still here today. That man is Senator Carl Hayden, senior Senator from the State of Arizona. Today is an historic event. It is historic be-cause this is the first time in the history of the U.S. Congress that any Member has ever completed one-half century of service. There have been several Members who have come close to this milestone, but no other Representative or Senator has ever achieved this record of service. I am proud that a Member from my State, which until 2 years ago was the baby State in the Union, was the one to do it. It has been estimated that some 4,000 Senators and Representatives have come and gone in the years since CARL HAYDEN first took his seat. He served under three Speakers in the House of Representatives—Champ Clark, of Missouri, Frederick Gillett, of Massachusetts, and Nicholas Longworth. of Ohio-prior to his election to the Senate in 1927.

There are only five Members of this body now serving who served with Carl Hayden when he was a Member of the House of Representatives. Those are the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Vinson], the gentleman from New York [Mr. Celler], the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Cannon], the gentleman from New York [Mr. Taber], and the gentleman

from Massachusetts | Mr. Martin]; and yet this amazing man is the dean of the Senate, having served in that body 6 years longer than the next Member in point of service. Mr. Hayden has served his country under Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy, and all of their various Vice Presidents.

When Carl Hayden came to Washington 50 years ago today to take his seat, he knew no Member of the House of Representatives. A friendly Congressman from Texas consented to walk with him into the well of this House when he took the oath of office.

This amazing gentleman, I might add, shows no sign of resting on his laurels; and, judging by the vitality with which he continues to serve his State and Nation, I would say he will add to this record for many years to come; in fact, there are people in Arizona who feel that one day he will celebrate his hundredth year of service in the U.S. Congress.

Let me, for the record, give a little background about Senator HAYDEN. He was born October 2, 1877, near a place called Hayden's Ferry, where his father had a mill, now called Tempe. He was educated in the public schools of Tempe, the Normal School of Arizona, and went on to Stanford University. He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1904. He was elected treasurer of Maricopa County in 1904 in territorial days, and sheriff of the county in 1906 and again in 1908. I might add that his history spans an amazing period of years. Here is a man who rode a horse, who carried a gun as a county sheriff in the territorial days of Arizona, and who has lived through the development of the automobile, the airplane, and into these troubled days we now live in.

Upon the admission of Arizona to statehood, he was elected to the 62d Congress. He was reelected seven times to this body and served until March 3, 1927. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1926, and was reelected in 1932, 1938, 1944, 1950, and 1956.

He tells the story that in his early days in the House here he told another Member he felt rather undressed and strange in Washington without wearing a gun. Of course he could not wear it onto the House floor. His colleague advised him that perhaps he should carry a couple of doorknobs in each pocket to make him feel more at home.

The Senator relates that when he first arrived in Washington he was given some advice by one of the older Members to the effect that there were two types of Congressmen and Senators, the workhorse and the show-horse. He says that he elected to become a workhorse. He has been one of the greatest workers in either House of Congress. He is an authority on reclamation and has probably done more in the interest of reclamation than any other person, living or dead.

CARL HAYDEN has the quality of humility, which is one of the essentials of greatness. He avoids publicity. It is said that he never holds a press conference. Last summer when I had less

seniority and Carl Hayden had more than any other Member of either body, he nevertheless walked the half-mile between his office and mine to welcome me to Washington and to offer his cooperation. His vitality remains undiminished.

This man knows the legislative processes as few others have ever learned them. He knows that legislation is a compromise; he knows that there must be give and take, and he knows how legislative work is accomplished.

In the course of his career in the Congress, Carl Hayden has seen tremendous changes in our country. History has moved in these years. There have been two great wars. Our people have gone from the farms to the cities. Vast transformation has occurred in our industry and our way of life. The United States which formerly was isolated from the pressures of the rest of the world has emerged as the world's greatest power and the leader of that part of the world which stands for freedom and self-government. In these years we have met enormous challenges in our economy, including a great depression that threatened our way of life. We have met these challenges and thereby refined our structure of government better to serve the people. As Burke said:

A State without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation.

Carl Hayden knew this, and as a Representative and later a Senator, he played an important part in effecting the changes necessary to meet the challenges of the 20th century.

Today, when younger men born in this century—in fact, I was born 10 years after he first came to Congress—want to return us to the mythical world of the 19th century, Carl Hayden, who has a right to speak for that century, is a leader in advocating the changes dictated by the era in which we live. I am proud to serve with a man who has kept pace with our history as Carl Hayden has done.

The last 12 months has been a year of tragedies, and yet a year of fulfillment for Carl Hayden. Last summer his wife, Nan, whom he married in 1908, passed away—she was a wonderful and talented woman who had been close to him all of these years.

Last fall, President Kennedy honored Carl Hayden by coming to Phoenix to address a nonpartisan appreciation dinner honoring his long service in Congress, and, through statehood celebrations which have been completed in Arizona he has been recognized for his valuable service to Arizona and the Nation.

CARL HAYDEN is a man who never looks back. He is still moving ahead. He is sharp, alert, and vital today. He has always had a sense of humor that is so essential in the tense and emotional work in which he has been engaged.

I would like to say, in concluding my brief remarks, that Carl Hayden through his continued service here in Washington is scoring a blow for economy in the Government. A few years ago the Congress passed a retirement plan for its own Members, and I am sure many citi-

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

zens looked at the senior Members of the House and Senate and probably made some uncomplimentary remarks about them. But Senator Hayden was one of those senior Members who voted for that act, and probably took some criticism as a result. Yet he is still to collect his first dollar of retirement pay. And the way he is going I doubt that he ever will.

So, Mr. Speaker, lesser men have come and gone, but CARL HAYDEN continues to serve. I say that America needs more

CARL HAYDENS.

(Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, 50 years ago a young man stood here in the well of the House and took the oath of office as a Member of Congress.

He was really a tough hombre, as many western outlaws and desperadoes had learned to their sorrow. But as I looked at him standing there, with upraised hand, he looked hardly older than

a high school boy. At that time he was a very unimportant factor in the Government of the United States. He represented a new State which had been only 5 days in the Union and as he has since said, he felt he had much to learn. Today, as President pro tempore of the Senate, he is the third man in the right of succession to the Presidency of the United States, the greatest office ever conceived by the brain of man. And what is of more immediate concern, he is chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. He rounds out today 50 years of uninterrupted service in the U.S. Congress. No Member of the House or Senate has ever served that long in the history of the Republic.

Gladstone's service as a Member of the House of Commons in the English Parliament was for a longer term of office than that of Senator Hayden, but it was an interrupted service. He had only 48 years of continuous service at any time during his career in the British Parliament. So, in length of continuous service, Senator HAYDEN has served not only longest in the American Congress, but so far as we are aware at this time, the longest sustained service of any Member in the parliaments of the world.

He was sworn in as a routine procedure on a routine day in the House and through the years—without fanfare or screaming headlines—he has become one of the most influential and most useful Members of either body. He is the ideal legislator.

Speaker Clark who swore him in, and whom as he relates, he consulted then and later, epitomizing his advice to freshmen Congressmen, said:

A man has to learn to be a Representative just as he must learn to be a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, an engineer, a lawyer, or a doctor. The best rule is for a district to select a man young enough to learn and to grow, with at least fair capacity; industrious, honest, energetic, sober, and courageous, and keep him there so long as he discharges his duties faithfully and

well. Such a man will gradually rise to high position and influence.

That has been the history of Senator HAYDEN. He conforms in every way and his career exemplifies in every respect the correctness of the statement made by the great Speaker.

Senator HAYDEN also entered service under a great President, President Taft. President Taft some years later reached the zenith of his career as Chief Justice of the United States and in the latter capacity was also able to evaluate the importance of the position of chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, now held by Senator HAYDEN.

It is related that the erection of the Supreme Court Building might have been delayed indefinitely but for the fact that Chief Justice Taft by personal importunity urged its planning, erection, and completion by appealing to the then chairman of the committee to provide this much needed building in time to permit him to have the honor and privilege of occupying it and presiding at the first session of the U.S. Supreme Court therein.

President Taft, speaking at a subsequent date, on the occasion of the anniversary of Speaker Joseph Gurney Cannon, of Illinois, said:

The conscientious struggle which the chairman of the Appropriations Committee has to make in Congress-and it is conscientious—to keep down the expenditures within the possible revenues is a labor that no one can realize except those who come into close contact with the discharge of that responsibility. The character of the appropriation bills is not understood by the public, so that these bills cannot be referred to as a basis of great parliamentary reputation. And yet the fact is that in that committee harder and more conscientious work is done than in any other committee in Congress. Its members are struggling constantly against the human nature of their fellows, they are standing up against that which they have to recognize as the weakness of man, and they are not receiving any meed of praise from anybody, because everybody is against them for opposing appropriations—until after the session is over, and then everybody criticizes them because of the largeness of the appropriations.

Mr. Speaker, the 50 years in which Senator HAYDEN has served in the House and Senate have seen the greatest change in any like period of time in human history. More has happened, more changes have taken place, more perplexing issues have arisen, since Senator Hayden was sworn in as a Member of this House 50 years ago, than took place from the administration of President Washington down to that period. It is a period which grows in significance and importance—and in danger with the years. We are to be congratulated; the country and the world are to be congratulated, that in these trying times, a man experienced and seasoned as Senator HAYDEN is experienced and seasoned, is in a position to be of such eminent service in solving the difficult problems which daily confront us.

In the language of Rip Van Winkle, "May he live long and prosper."

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. I am delighted to yield to the Speaker.

Mr. McCORMACK. I join with the gentleman from Arizona and also the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee and other Members who have spoken and will speak in connection with paying a justified tribute to that great man and that great gentleman and that great American, that outstanding legislator from Arizona, Senator Carl Hayden. Not only has he served his State and our country with outstanding ability and great distinction, but his personality is an inspiration for all others to follow, particularly those in the legislative field. I treasure the friendship that exists between CARL HAYDEN and myself, a friendship that is close, a friendship based on respect, and I value the fact that as a Member of Congress I have been able to meet and to know this distinguished gentleman, this outstanding American. We of the House join with the Members of the Senate and his countless friends and admirers not only in Arizona but throughout the United States in congratulating CARL HAYDEN on his 50th anniversary as a Member of both branches of the Congress of the United States, and trust that God will bless him for countless years to come.

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. I thank the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. I yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure and honor to join in paying deserved tribute to the dean of the Senate, the Honorable CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona, a great American who has served his country in public office for a half century.

In comparative terms, our Republic is still young. Constitutionally, it is less than 200 years old, yet in 50 of those years CARL HAYDEN has served in the Congress of the United States-14 years in the House and 36 years in the Sen-

This is indeed a remarkable record in a free legislative body. Only a few men in all history can come close to matching it. Our late beloved Speaker, Sam Rayburn, had he lived would have completed 50 years of service on March 4, 1963. The dean of the House, the Honorable CARL VINSON, is now in his 48th year.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to join with CARL HAYDEN'S many friends in this body and around the country in expressing congratulations and best wishes to him on this great day.

K. UDALL. Mr. MORRIS Speaker, I thank the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. I yield to the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy that the distinguished gentleman from Arizona has taken this time to pay tribute to one of the greatest men who ever served any legislative body in the entire world. Senator HAYDEN has had a distinguished career that goes back to the very foundation of his great State. He seems to be as eternal as the stars; and a great legislative star certainly he has always been.

Mr. Speaker, he is a kind man; he is a modest man. He is a hard worker. He has earned his spurs in the great legislative Halls of the Congress by hard and unostentatious work. The gentleman, as an Arizonian, and all of us as Americans, may be proud of the life and service of Senator Carl Hayden.

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished majority leader. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS K. UDALL. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, when I first came to the Congress, almost 40 years ago, Carl Hayden was a Member of the House. I can remember him as he moved about the House, but he seldom indulged in debate. But you could see that his service was productive, something that he could carry with him with pride down through the years.

Since he has been a member of the Committee on Appropriations in the other body and I have been going to conferences, I have met him a sufficient number of times so I believe I can say that I know him. Mr. Speaker, he is a gentleman of rare character, and very interesting to talk to. I think it is a fine thing for the House to take a little time today to honor Carl Hayden on the anniversary of his first service in the Congress of the United States and I pay my most sincere tributes to him.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a privilege and a pleasure to join in the tribute to my good friend Senator Carl Hayden. I first became acquainted with him when I was a freshman Member of the House, 37 years ago, when he was serving his State in the House. During that term, there developed between us a friendship that has endured through these many years.

What a singularly remarkable record Senator Hayden has achieved! A half century of service to his fine State, which he has represented with great ability and distinction ever since it was admitted to the Union. He has been a credit to the Nation, to Arizona, and to the Congress/longer than any other man in history. He has been a powerful voice for a sound Government and he has saved the country billions of dollars through his careful scrutiny of Government spending.

There could be no greater tribute to the capacity and the integrity of an elected official than the fact that the people of his State have elected and reelected him ever since it attained statehood. As Carl Hayden begins his second half century of service, I wish him continued good health, happiness, and success in the work to which his life has been so zealously dedicated.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, I desire to join with my colleagues in the House in

paying tribute to my esteemed friend, Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona, on this his 50th anniversary of service in the Congress of the United States. A half century is indeed a long time and for one to serve for that length of time in the Congress of the United States where service frequently depends on the caprice and whims of the voters is extraordinary. This evidence of the confidence of his constituents speaks louder than words of the many virtues of this great statesman. Senator CARL HAYDEN is a man of impeccable character, great wisdom and charming personality. He is a stanch patriot, a distinguished legislator and an eminent citizen. His long tenure of office is in itself a grand tribute to one of the noblest Americans of them all. Long may he live and continue to serve his people.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday I watched and heard Senator Carl Hayden on TV. I had been told that never before had the senior senator from Arizona appeared on TV, such has been his adversion to anything smacking of the personal limelight. But yesterday on the memorable occasion of the completion of 50 years of service in the Congress of the United States he graciously, but reluctantly, capitulated to the wishes of a Nation of his admirers and well-wishers.

I was thrilled as seldom before as I sat at my TV side. Here was America, the land of opportunity and of growth. Here speaking to me and millions of others, as though in our own homes, was a man born 84 years ago in a small cluster of homes called Hayden's Ferry, now the city of Tempe, home of the great State University of Arizona, born in a territory that would wait and grow another 35 years until attaining statehood, and which he had represented first in the House, then in the other body, for all the 50 years of its statehood. A half a century of dynamic growth, the expansion of a western territory with scant population into a rich and mighty State, all personified in the man who appeared before us on Sunday's TV, Senator CARL HAYDEN, the legislative architect of the destiny of the great State that came into statehood 35 years

after his birth.

CARL HAYDEN will live in the history of the United States. He will be an inspiration to succeeding generations. All who saw him yesterday on TV were better Americans for having found in this man who had accomplished so much for his State, his Nation, and mankind a pattern of modesty and of humility in the best traditions of our Republic.

His appearance on TV was as refreshing as the breezes of a perfect day, as wholesome as the clear, clean winds that blow away the clouds.

Mr. Speaker, I think that my sister, living in Arizona in territorial years and during the 50 golden years of statehood, would not mind my repeating what she wrote me, that having voted for Carl Hayden in all the elections in Arizona for a half a century, she hoped to continue doing so for at least another quarter of a century. And as Senator Hayden said, when asked if he would be a candidate for reelection, "Why not?"

A PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE OF THE ORGANIZATION FOR ECO-NOMIC COOPERATION AND DE-VELOPMENT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Reuss] is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today for appropriate reference House Concurrent Resolution 425, expressing the sense of Congress that a parliamentary conference of the 20 member nations of the new Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development be established. This resolution calls upon the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Senate Committeee on Foreign Relations to establish special subcommittees for the purpose of jointly exploring, with appropriate officials of the Government of the United States, the OECD, and members of the parliaments of the other member nations, the desirability and feasibility of such a conference.

## WHY A PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE?

Such a parliamentary conference will provide a valuable adjunct, at the legislative level, to the OECD. The sessions of the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, and of our parliamentary conferences with Mexico and Canada, have been markedly successful.

A parliamentarians' group is most essential in the case of OECD because of the clear intent in the discussions setting up the organization that it is to be primarily a consultative body with very limited powers. Specifically, in the OECD convention the nations involved agreed to consult together on a continuing basis and where appropriate take coordinated action. It also provides that no such coordinated action shall be binding on any individual member nation until it has complied with the requirements of its own constitutional procedures. In the United States this would, of course, involve the Congress or at least the Senate. It is thus important that Members of Congress have an opportunity to discuss and deliberate on these problems while solutions and decisions are in the formative stage. A parliamentary conference would provide just such an opportunity.

THE NEED FOR CONGRESSIONAL PARTICIPATION

It is particularly important to the Members of Congress to have a parliamentarian's group because of the different nature of the systems of Government in the United States and the other member countries. While the Cabinet members and Ministers who attend the OECD official meetings as delegates from the European countries and Canada are almost always members of their nation's legislatures, our delegates are not. This is because of our historic tradition of separation of powers, based on the constitutional prohibition that no Member of Congress can hold a position in the executive branch. The European tradition is just the opposite. In some countries, the entire cabinet must come from the legislature.

Mr. Speaker, I approved enthusiastically of U.S. participation in the OECD

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Convention last year, but I am very sympathetic with the worries which were expressed at that time by some of my colleagues. These worries were based on this very separation of powers problem I have just outlined.

For example, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. James C. Davis] said on the floor of the House on February 23, 1961:

Decisions having far-reaching effects upon our industries, our workers, and our farmers would be reached thousands of miles away, completely out of the range of the eyesight or influence of the representatives they had elected to Congress. These representatives, in fact, would not be acquainted with the agenda or the order of business of the OECD; that is, the OECD would not deal with the Congress or the representatives of the people in considering the agenda that was proposed to be passed upon.

If the representatives of the people ever knew about it, the burden would be upon them to find out for themselves. They would have no opportunity to voice even an opinion on the questions that would come before the international organization. In their place, in the place of these representatives of the people, would be delegates of the State Department and they would not be responsive to the electorate.

A conference such as I propose would greatly lessen the burden which would be placed upon us—as elected representatives—to keep informed about OECD de-

velopments.

It would give us an opportunity to voice to representatives from the other nations involved the opinions which the gentleman from Georgia feared we would be denied. In such vital questions as those which OECD will consider, an opportunity for these discussions is a necessity.

## THE BACKGROUND OF OECD

The existence of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development presents great hopes for the future. It is a significant extension of the Atlantic Community which has—up till now—been centered on the military alliance embodied in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation created in 1948 to carry out the European recovery plan—the Marshall plan. Before discussing the OECD it is relevant to look a little at that background.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was organized along military lines to unite the United States and her allies in a military response to the Communist menace in Europe.

NATO and the American program of aid to Greece and Turkey were two of the main military steps we took to stem the advance of communism into a wartorn Europe. These were, indeed, vital steps. But NATO has not been a completely successful entity for cooperation on economic matters because of its military nature and because of the absence of such important nations as Switzerland and Sweden from its membership.

The Organization for European Economic Cooperation was created by the Western European countries meeting in Paris as a result of the 1947 proposal by Gen. George Marshall to extend economic assistance to them. This assistance was to be coordinated by OEEC in an

attempt to rebuild the war-torn area and get it back on its feet economically. It is now well known how much it exceeded all hopes and expectations. The countries were rebuilt, and have—within the framework of OEEC and other organizations such as the European Payments Union—made great achievements in increasing production and trade, and in arriving at extensive currency convertibility.

With European recovery a well-established fact, the OEEC has in recent years tried more and more to raise its sights.

The member nations had pledged themselves to promote production, to reduce barriers to trade, and to strive for financial stability and full employment. However, neither the United States nor Canada were members of OEEC. It became increasingly obvious during the late 1950's that the increasing economic interdependence between the economics of Western Europe and those of Canada and the United States required some completely new form of economic cooperation.

ORIGINS OF OECD

Looking toward the future, the United States proposed in late 1959 that a new organization be formed to promote closer cooperation among the members of an expanded Atlantic Community on policies toward economic growth, expanded aid to the developing countries, and expanded trade.

After extensive negotiations between 18 European nations, and the United States and Canada, the final treaty setting up the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development was approved December 14, 1960. Hearings were held by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 14, and 15, 1961 and the Senate officially ratified ILS membership on March 16, 1961

U.S. membership on March 16, 1961.

The members of the OECD at this time are the six countries of the Common Market—France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, and Germany, the seven members of the European Free Trade Association—Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, United Kingdom, Sweden, Norway, and Portugal; Iceland, Ireland, Greece, Turkey, and Spain; and Canada and the United States.

## GOALS OF THE OECD: GROWTH

The goals of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development as outlined in its charter, are to maintain a high growth rate, improve cooperation on aid to developing areas, and to expand trade. While not explicitly a goal, it is understood that solutions to these problems depend in part on a system of mutual solutions to avoid balance of payments problems.

The free world is faced with a challenge greater than free people have ever faced before. The Communist bloc of nations calls us to contest in numberless areas of the world. In all these contests, sustained economic growth is the key ingredient to strength and to success. The Communist nations have specifically hurled the challenge in growth terms. The nations of the West have accepted it in those terms. Coordination of our policies is important to attaining this growth.

TRADE

The Common Market is booming along. In the years immediately ahead, it will eliminate its internal tariffs and will establish a common external tariff.

Meanwhile, the countries of the European Free Trade Association, led by the United Kingdom, are seeking, or are about to seek, association with the Common Market. Both the Common Market, and its current enlargement, have been major objects of U.S. foreign policy. Historically, the hope of European unity goes back to Charlemagne.

But, ironically, the Common Market encourages a European particularism at just the time when what is needed is a free world generalism. If we let the Common Market erect its external tariff wall, and stop there, we shall have split the free world into enclaves at just the time when we should have been moving toward a free world community.

As the Common Market reduces its internal tariffs toward zero, and works toward a common external tariff, it cannot help but hamper exports from the United States and the rest of the free world outside the Common Market. The United States and other third-country exporters are going to find the booming Western European market increasingly difficult to infiltrate. This is particularly true of the countries of Latin America which, as competitors of the former European colonies in Africa, will suffer from the special treatment those African nations will receive.

Expanding U.S. exports is the best way to bring our international payments into balance. Yet the loss to U.S. exports by reason of the Common Market, asenlarged, has been conservatively estimated at \$800 million a year.

Currently, our exports are running at the rate of roughly \$20 billion a year and our imports at the rate of \$15 billion. Yet we have a deficit in our balance of payments because of the many obligations—both military and economic—which we have assumed around the globe. These obligations benefit all the nations of the Common Market and of the OECD. Those nations must realize that if we are ever to balance our payments, we must expand our exports. The OECD provides a forum in which we can seek ways to convince them of this, and to arrive at new trade expansion policies.

Because the improvement of assistance to the developing areas of the world is so important, the countries which are providing a substantial amount of aid had already organized the Development Assistance Group before the OECD was fully in existence.

The work of this organization, which was always destined to be taken over by the OECD Development Assistance Committee, is a very important aspect of OECD.

Since World War II, the United States has lent or given \$85 billion in foreign aid. Of this total, \$56.5 billion has been in purely economic aid, and \$28.5 for direct military aid or economic aid to areas in which we have a direct defense interest.

Nearly half of the \$85 billion in both economic and military aid has gone to Western Europe. Now that these countries are once again strong, and the horizons of our aid needs expanded, it is fitting that they should join with us in aiding other nations. The United States cannot alone provide for future aid OECD provides the forum in needs. which we can work with the economically prosperous Atlantic countries to increase their contributions in a measure commensurate with their international reserve and payments positions and their level of total production.

#### PAYMENTS

Solutions to all their problems must have as their underpinnings an accompanying policy of mutual support against payments crises. The countries of the free world today hold their monetary reserves partly in gold and partly in convertible currencies. The great bulk held in currencies is in the form of either dollars or pounds sterling.

Monetary reserves are necessary because no country can have a continuous balance in its international transactions with the rest of the world. The amounts needed increase as trade expands and, particularly, as it becomes ever easier to transfer money freely from one country to another. When a country's payments exceed its receipts over a period as long as a year, its balance of payments is said to be in deficit.

Until the mid-1950's, the United States held to a deliberate policy of incurring deficits so that the rest of the free world could buy from us and also build their own monetary reserves. Since 1958, we have had larger deficits, but for a variety of reasons. For one thing, while we have almost always sold more goods to others than we have bought from them, this merchandise trade surplus narrowed in some years. At the same time, we continued to make large expenditures for defense and for foreign aid. In 1960-61, our trade surplus rose substantially, but there is concern that we shall not be able to maintain it. Exports to Western Europe may not continue to rise as new tariff barriers are raised against us, and as American firms do more and more of their manufacturing inside the Common Market tariffs walls.

It is, therefore, encouraging that the OECD now provides an opportunity for us to coordinate our efforts to create a free world "one for all, all for one" community of interest on payments matters.

EXISTING INTERPARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

The United States now participates in four interparliamentary groups—the Interparliamentary Union, the NATO Parliamentary Group, the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group, and the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group.

The Interparliamentary Union, founded in 1889, is the oldest. Its membership has grown from 9 nations in 1889 to more than 60 today. Incidentally, it is the only parliamentary group which includes both members from the United States and U.S.S.R. The most recent meeting, at Brussels in September 1961, was attended by 20 members from the United States, 10 from the Sen-

ate and 10 from the House. It meets annually and is represented on the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Its aim is to further better relations "through the study of international law, international organization, reduction of armaments, economic problems, intercultural relations, social questions, and particularly, the evolution of the representative system of government."—Brief history of the Interparliamentary Union, Library of Congress, 1957.

The NATO Parliamentarians' Group was formed on a permanent basis in 1956. Members of the U.S. group are restricted to 18, 9 from each body. Its most recent meeting was at Paris last November.

The Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group was established in 1959, after the return of a special mission to Canada by two then members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs—the gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. Hays, and the gentleman from Maine, Mr. Coffin. Membership is not to exceed 24, half from the Senate and half from the House. Its last meeting was in Quebec in February 1961.

The Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group was established in 1960. As with the Canadian group, membership is not to exceed 24, half from each body. Its first meeting was held at Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico in February 1961.

The proposed OECD Parliamentary Conference would in no way conflict with these four existing interparliamentary groups, each of which serves a specialized purpose of its own.

The text of the House Concurrent Resolution 425 follows:

Whereas the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development came into official existence on September 30, 1961, replacing the OEEC; and

Whereas the United States is a full member of the OECD with Canada and 18 European governments; and

Whereas the OECD will create a strong new economic tie between Western Europe and North America and will mark a new era in free world economic cooperation and progress; and

Whereas the OECD will provide a forum in which its members may consult on questions of international trade, the advancement of developing areas, the strengthening of systems of international payments, and the promotion of policies designed to foster in each country the maximum employment, economic growth and price stability; and

Whereas the discussions and decisions of the OECD will be of deep concern to the Parliaments of the member countries and to the constituencies thereof: be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring); That, it is the sense of Congress that an OECD Parliamentary Conference be established, to be composed of representatives of the Parliaments of the member countries who shall meet jointly for discussion of the aims of the Organization and methods of achieving them; and

That, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs shall establish subcommittees for the purpose of jointly exploring with appropriate officials of the U.S. Government, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and with members of the Parliaments of the OECD nations, the desirability and feasibility of establishing an OECD Parliamentary Conference.

THE HONORABLE CARL HAYDEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. RHODES] is recognized for 15 minutes.

(Mr. RHODES of Arizona asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure and an honor to join with the other Members of the House in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the day a great American took the oath as the first Member of the House of Representatives to represent the new State of Arizona. Of course, I refer to a fine gentleman who is now the senior Senator from Arizona, the Honorable Carl Hayden.

CARL HAYDEN has represented the State of Arizona in one or the other Houses of Congress ever since Arizona became a State. As has been said, he has seen the growth of the State of Arizona from a frontier community to the fine member of the Union of States which it now is. Here is a man who has served 50 years as a Member of the Congress of the United States. In those 50 years we have fought World War I; we have gone through the great depression; we fought World War II and we fought the Korean war. Since 1954, Senator HAYDEN has been chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. Senate, a position which I am sure we all recognize as one which is second in power and responsibility to very few positions in the Government. He is a man who has, I think, been able to keep his preeminent position in the hearts and on the ballots of the people of the State of Arizona because of the kind of man he is. In the first place, he has never forgotten who sent him to Washington. He has never forgotten that it is the people of Arizona to whom he owes his first loyalty after his overriding loyalty to our great American Republic. has never forgotten that he owes his position to their good will, and to their continued awareness of and appreciation for his great efforts in their behalf.

CARL HAYDEN approaches his great job and the great responsibilities which it gives to him with a sense of deep humility. If there is one trait which predominates in the nature of CARL HAYDEN. it would be humility. He has never yet been accused, by anyone of being conceited, proud, puffed up, or too good for the people back home. This is true in spite of the many honors and privileges which have been his. Instead, he has always felt that the honors and privileges, have come to him as the result of the gift of the people of the United States and of the people of Arizona, and that all the honor - whatever there might be in the way in which he has carried out his job—belongs to the peo-ple who sent him here. It has been stated that he has shunned publicity and this is true. He has no desire to make a "Federal case" of any votes that he has cast. In fact, another facet of his character which has insured his political success has been his penchant for playing down the votes which he has cast or which he has not cast.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

The people of Arizona have always been told whenever they wanted to know how he had cast a vote; but certainly he was never one either to beat his chest about having done as they wanted him to, or to make undue noise about having, in good conscience, gone against what appeared to be the will of a majority of the people back home. In this way he has avoided entanglement in unnecessary arguments.

Here is a man who, in my opinion, epitomizes the best in the traditions of the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the government of the State of Arizona. It is interesting to note, Mr. Speaker, that during the time Carl Hayden has served in the Congress, five other great Arizonians have served in the Senate.

The first two Senators to represent the State of Arizona were Marcus Aurelius Smith and Henry Fountain Ashurst. In 1920 Ralph Henry Cameron became a Senator, and afterward Ralph Henry Cameron was the unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1926 when Carl Hayden went to the U.S. Senate. Since that time Senator Hayden has served with Ernest W. McFarland as a colleague, and with the present junior Senator from Arizona, Barry Goldwater.

During that time there have been eight Members of the House of Representatives from the State of Arizona. After Senator Hayden went to the Senate, Hon. Lewis W. Douglas was elected as a Member of the House. Lewis Douglas served as a Member of the House until 1933 when he became Director of the Budget and later became Ambassador to the Court of St. James. He was succeeded by Isabel Greenway who, in turn, was succeeded by John R. Murdock. In 1942, when Arizona got two Congressmen, Richard F. Harless became the second Congressman. He was succeeded in 1948 by Harold A. Patten, who was succeeded in 1954 by Hon. Stewart L. Udall, now Secretary of the Interior, who, in his turn, was succeeded by his brother, Morris K. Udall, who is now Representative of the Second District and my able colleague.

My predecessor was the Honorable John R. Murdock, as fine a gentleman as ever lived. I met John Murdock on the streets of Phoenix last fall, and John said:

Will you please on February 19 next year take a special order and say something about the great services of Carl Hayden?

He said:

In 1940 and in 1950 I took special orders and reviewed Carl's career on the floor of the House, and I hope that this practice will be carried on.

Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to join in doing this with my colleague from Arizona, and I hope that in 1972 some Representative from the State of Arizona will stand on this floor as we have today and recall again the great service of Senator Carl Hayden who will then have completed his 60th year as a Senator representing the State of Arizona in the Congress of the United States.

(Mr. RHODES of Arizona asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

HOUSE RESOLUTION 530, A RESOLUTION TO DISAPPROVE REORGANIZATION PLAN NO. 1 OF 1962 TO ESTABLISH A DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS AND HOUSING TO BE CALLED UP WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, I take this occasion to advise the House that it is my intention on Wednesday next as the author of House Resolution 530, and pursuant to the rules of the House and the terms of the Reorganization Act of 1949, to call up House Resolution 530, which is a resolution of disapproval of Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1962, to establish a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing.

I had a talk with one of the members of the Government Operations Committee on the other side and advised him that I was going to do this. I do not see Mr. Dawson, the chairman of our committee on the floor, and this I regret. I wish he were here, but it is necessary to give as much advance notice as possible so that the membership can arrange their affairs accordingly.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, of course the distinguished gentleman from Michigan is acting within his rights and prerogatives under the rules of the House in having this matter called up unexpectedly on Wednesday next.

Personally, I had hoped that the matter would go over until next week, and I did not know until a few minutes ago that the gentleman did intend to bring this matter up after we had already announced the program for this week. But I say that purely expressing my own views in respect to what I had hoped would happen. The gentleman is definitely within his rights.

The gentleman knows full well that this will mean that we will have to postpone consideration of the manpower bill

which had been programed for Wednesday, and it will mean that the House will have to meet for legislative business on George Washington's Birthday, which is next Thursday, and on Friday, unless the manpower bill is disposed of on Thurs-

I take this time merely to advise the Members of the House we had not anticipated this matter would be called up at this time, and also to put Members of the House on notice of this change in the program. I may say this was entirely unexpected when we announced the program last week, and it was unexpected until a few minutes ago.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I do not see anything wrong about working on Washington's Birthday. I think if George Washington, former President of the United States, could come back to earth, he would heartily approve of this House working once in a while—just once in a while, and even on his birthday.

## MAJ. JAMES C. ELLIOTT

(Mr. HARDY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HARDY. Mr. Speaker, the call to active duty last fall of Reserve and National Guard units of the Army, Navy, and Air Force undoubtedly caused a great many hardships. Generally speaking, the reservists themselves accepted without complaint the personal discomforts which they experienced, and the upheavals caused their families, because they recognized that there was then a need for bolstering our military strength in the face of threats to our security and to world peace.

Among the Air Force reservists in that recall is a young journalist from my district, Maj. James C. Elliott. He has written a splendid article, "To Maintain the Peace," which apepared in the January issue of Air Force and Space Digest. I commend this article to those of you who have not already read it. It will give you a better understanding of the readiness of our Reserve forces and of their dedication to duty, as well as a greater appreciation of the tremendous contribution which the reservists make to our Nation's defense.

HIGHER CONSUMER PRICES: RE-DUCED MARKET FOR DAIRY PRODUCTS INHERENT IN KEN-NEDY FARM PROGRAM

(Mr. RIEHLMAN (at the request of Mr. Short) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the farm bill proposed by Secretary of Agriculture Freeman and his chief economic advisor, Prof. Willard Cochrane, is a complete example of the all-encompassing "supply-management" life the U.S. Department of Agriculture envisions for American farmers.

In the view of these theorists—many of whom probably see themselves as czars in this supply-management world—all farmers should be told what to do, how to do it, when to do it, and—indeed—whether to do it at all.

Secretary Freeman and company see supply management as the end-all answer to all problems. They ignore the lessons of history—Government controls simply will not work. They choose, instead, to urge that all we need to remedy our farm ills is a set of iron-clad controls that use economic coercion to compel conformity.

They imply, too, that these controls will not raise the price of food paid by

active outdoor sports-sailing, waterskiing, tennis, horseback riding, touch football, and the like.

Just the other day," Baughman explained with a grin, "we had to buy a bicycle for one of our agents in Hyannis Port. Caroline had been soloing on her new bicycle and we couldn't have the agent running alongside on foot or trailing her in a limousine.

"If we had the permanent summer White House that I've been dreaming about, it would give our First Families the privacy and security they need, plus just about every kind of recreational facility they could want.

'Ideally, it would be located on the seacoast about 200 miles from Washington, an easy range for our new, fast helicopters. main residence would be a small replica of the White House, fully equipped with worldwide communications.

#### SECURITY SHUFFLEBOARD

"As I see it, the entire estate would cover an area of about 9 square miles-3 miles on side-fronting on the ocean. The whole grounds would be a security area, but within it there would be a small, tight security area for the First Family, containing the official residence, offices, private beach and boating facilities, swimming pool, tennis

courts, shuffleboard, and even a ballfield.
"There also would be an 18-hole golf course on the estate, a big lake, riding paths, picnic areas, anything you could think of except

maybe mountain climbing.

'And, of course, there would be appropriate quarters for visiting dignitaries, the White House staff and press, an auditorium for movies and news conferences, and underground utilities and parking.

"Security would be relatively simple, since there would be only one access road to the grounds and a 300-foot watchtower equipped with radar and television cameras to scan

the whole area day and night.
"But let's not forget," Chief Baughman added, "that the permanent summer White House, like 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, would belong to all the American people. I think there should be 50 summer cottages, one for each State in the Union, built along the ocean front.

That way, each State could send outstanding families or individuals who have performed exceptional public service for 2-week vacations on the summer White House grounds. They would have complete access to and use of all the recreational facilities except those that were within the immediate Presidential compound.

#### FUNDS FROM THE PEOPLE?

I asked Chief Baughman how much all this would cost and how it would be paid for. "Undoubtedly, millions of dollars," he

replied. "But the way I see it, this should not be a congressional appropriation of "But the way I see it, this should Treasury funds. It should be financed by public subscription, with every citizen who is concerned with the health and wellbeing of our Presidents contributing what- TRIBUTES TO SENATOR HAYDEN, OF

ever amount he deems appropriate.
"But please tell Parade's readers not to send any money to me or the Treasury for this purpose. It seems to me that the ideal way would be for some group of private citizens to obtain official sanction to form a commission that would raise the necessary funds."

Today, the summer White House is one man's dream. Tomorrow, it may become a reality. And, who knows, the man who dreamed it up may one day be called out of retirement to administer it.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, the cost of upkeep of the summer White House would be negligible. Wherever the President and his family are, there are certain basic costs that have to be methousekeeping, preparation of food, and the like. But the only additional costs that would be necessary for the maintenance of this summer White House would be the mowing of the lawn and the painting of the house.

This idea, which started with Umberto Patalano of Providence and Cornelius Moore of Newport, is a gesture of the regard and affection our citizens have for the President of the United States and the wish that President Kennedy and future Presidents may see fit to come increasingly to our State. It is, in fact, their putting into effect the idea "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

Actually other governments already provide a summer White House for the chief executive, and over the past weekend I noticed that the West German Government was buying a summer residence for its Ambassador here in Washington.

I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD at this point a list of the foreign governments which maintain summer residences for their chiefs of state.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Among the other governments maintaining summer residences are:

France (for both Premier and President): Chateau Ramboullet.

Spain (for Chief of State, the Cabinet, and Diplomatic Corps): San Sebastian.

Britain (for the Queen (Scotland), for the Prime Minister): Balmoral Chequers.

Philippines (for the President): Baguio. Iran (for the Shah): Qasr-Shemiran.

(for the Governor General): Canada Citedel (Quebec City). (two for the President): Castell Italy

Porziano and San Rossore. Turkey (for the President): Florya Kusku.

Lebanon (for the President): Beit-Ed-Dien.

Portugal (for the President): Cidadela de Cascias.

Republic of China (two for the President): Kaohsiung and Taichung.

Pakistan (for the President): Murree.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, with these facts in mind, I sincerely hope that Secretary Udall may see fit to recommend to the White House acceptance of this free gift offering from the people of the State of Rhode Island. By fortunate coincidence the Secretary of the Interior is in the Chamber at this time. I hope he will take cognizance of these words.

ARIZONA, ON THE 50TH ANNIVER-SARY OF HIS SERVICE IN THE U.S. CONGRESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, this is a momentous day in the history of the United States of America. In this morning's New York Times there appears an article, written by Russell Baker, part of which I should like to read at this time, because it shows an excellent understanding of a man whom we all honor and love. I quote from the article:

Washington, February 18.—Tomorrow will be a day of severe inner trial for Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona.

His name is going to be prominently displayed in the newspapers, and that, in the HAYDEN philosophy of politics, is bad.

In the afternoon, he is going to have to spend a lot of time sitting on the Senate floor listening to a lot of talk. Public talk, in the Hayden philosophy of politics, is one so much had as an utter and absolute waste of good working time. ("Who wants to listen to a tirade?" he once asked a man who said the Senator ought to make a speech once in awhile in deference to tradition.)
Tomorrow, however, Mr. HAYDEN will have

to listen because the talk is going to be about him. The occasion is the 50th anniversary

of his coming to Congress.

No previous Member in history has served so long. Few have attained the status of living institution that Mr. HAYDEN enjoys among his colleagues.

Fewer still have done so much with so little talk.

Above all, Mr. President, he is a Senator's Senator.

I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks this article published in the New York Times be inserted in the RECORD; as well as a copy of the transcript of the "Washington Conversation" program as broadcast over the CBS Television network yesterday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SMITH of Massachusetts in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. MANSFIELD. The TV appearance of our distinguished President pro tempore yesterday was an outstanding success. My wife, who was also watching the telecast, commented several times that Senator HAYDEN is a humble man. Humility sometimes is the mark of greatness

Mr. President, as I stated earlier, this is a momentous day in our history. It is my honor to inform the Senate that we celebrate today the 50th anniversary of the commencement of service in the U.S. Congress of our beloved President pro tempore, CARL HAYDEN.

On February 19, 1912, CARL HAYDEN, until shortly before that sheriff of Maricopa County, Ariz., took his seat in the House of Representatives as the first Congressman from the new State. More than a month later, on April 2, 1912, Arizona's first Members of this body-Henry Ashurst and Marcus Smith—took their places in the Senate.

Representative HAYDEN had been helped into office, he says, by a number of sheriffs with whom he had exchanged prisoners in his extensive travels through the Arizona Territory. They formed a highly effective Hayden organizationthe first of a long succession of such that were to support him in seven succeeding congressional elections and in six contests for the Senate.

On February 19, 1912, the Speaker of the House was Champ Clark, of Missouri, later that year to be an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic nomination against Woodrow Wilson. the House at that time were men like Oscar Underwood, of Alabama; Joseph Cannon, of Illinois: Pat Harrison, of Mississippi; George Norris, of Nebraska; Cordell Hull, of Tennessee; and Carter Glass, of Virginia. These men would make their mark on American history in the decades to come, either in Congress or in the executice branch. But none of the Members of the House in the 62d Congress would build a more enduring

monument of service to the American people than CARL HAYDEN.

This fair, wise, and kindly man has always used his great power with restraint. He is a living refutation of Acton's famous dictum that power tends to corrupt. In CARL HAYDEN, power has been associated with responsibility and tempered by humility. He has throughout his career displayed the same openness and candor with junior Members of this body, with the staff of the Senate, and with the public at large as he has with other men of great position in Government. There is not an ounce of false pride or cant in him.

Senator Hayden has been called a living link between the frontier and modern America. He bears within him, as he performs his responsibilities in 1962, the generous and hardy spirit of the pioneer West.

Now he has completed 50 years of responsible service to the democracy. His is the longest congressional career since the First Congress, in 1789. It is also one of the noblest. May we have him here with us for years to come.

#### Ехнівіт 1

[From the New York Times, Feb. 19, 1962] SENATOR HAYDEN, 84, WILL MARK HALF-CENTURY IN CONGRESS TODAY-DEMOCRAT FROM ARIZONA HAS SERVED LONGER IN CAPI-TAL THAN ANY OTHER MAN

#### (By Russell Baker)

Washington, February 18.—Tomorrow will be a day of severe inner trial for Senator CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona.

His name is going to be prominently displayed in the newspapers, and that, in the Hayden philosophy of politics, is bad.

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No previous Member in history has served

so long. Few have attained the status of living institution that Mr. HAYDEN enjoys among his colleagues.

Fewer still have done so much with so little talk.

In Arizona, Senator Hayden is an institution roughly on a par with the Grand Canyon. He entered the House on February 19, 1912, as Arizona's only Representative, just 5 days after the State was admitted to the Union.

Over the years, the power and prerogatives of seniority have silently elevated him to the small circle of first-rank Senators whose support is essential for Senate success and whose opposition may be fatal. As the Senate's oldest Democrat—he holds the office of President pro tempore, which makes him third in succession to the Presidency after the Speaker of the House.

He sits on the Democratic policy committee and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, which runs the place, and is chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Printing, which controls every Congressman's access to the Government printing presses.

Most important of all, he is chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, the supreme goal of all Senators because it controls the purse strings to the Treasury.

What is remarkable in all this is that, for all his power, Senator HAYDEN is virtually unknown to the American public. Whipper snappers without one-tenth of his power in the Senate have strutted and pranced across the front pages to glory or doom while Mr. HAYDEN has quietly secured his position by unobtrusively doing his duty for party and Arizona. Above all, he is a Senator's Senator.

Never a man to stake out strong ideological positions, he has left Arizona covered with monuments to his effectiveness at combining party regularity with backroom know-how. Dam and reservoirs, power transmission lines, great highways that make the State a tourist center of the West, airports and military bases, thousands of acres of fertile land blooming in the desert with Federal irrigation projects-these are the legacy his acumen has left to Arizona.

In view of the performance record, even the conservatives who like the ideology of his Republican junior colleague, BARRY GOLDwater, have found it hard to develop any rancor over Mr. HAYDEN'S consistent loyalty to the New Deal and Fair Deal and President Kennedy's New Frontier.

Senator HAYDEN comes from pioneer Arizona stock. His father, Charles Trumbull Hayden, a Yankee trader whose forbears came from England in 1630, set up business in Tucson in 1848. The Senator was born in Hayden's Ferry (now Tempe) in the Arizona

Educated at Stanford, he entered politics shortly after the turn of the century as sheriff of Maricopa County. The Senator's memories of this period afford small sustenance for devotees of old West tales.

Once he caught a pair of train robbers after pursuing them in an Apperson Jackrabbit, an early automobile.

"The nearest I ever came to using a gun," he said recently, was an occasion when he heard that "a notorious horsethief who was badly wanted in Colorado and Utah, had turned up in Phoenix.

Sheriff Hayden found his man drinking t a bar. "It was evident that he had a at a bar. pistol under his coat in his hip pocket," he said. "I stuck my gun in his back, told him to throw up his custody."

'It turned out that Colorado and Utah did not want the man badly enough to go get him, so the sheriff turned him 'loose. "I told him I did not mind \* \* \* Ari-

zona," Mr. Hayden recalled. "He didn't."
The story that Senator HAYDEN shuns newsmen as if they were lepers is a base canard, he insists. The myth has grown out of firm policy adopted shortly after he came to Congress.

At that time, an oldtimer advised him that Congressmen came in two varieties: the "work horse" and the "show horse." Work horses get along; show horses got the headlines but usually failed to last long.

Mr. HAYDEN chose to become a work horse. He avoids publicity. There are aging members of the Senate Press Gallery who cannot recall ever hearing him make a floor speech proper.

There is a story told by President Kennedy that on first coming to the Senate he sat beside Mr. HAYDEN one day and, to make conversation, asked about the difference between the modern Senate and the Senate of 30 years before.

"Young men didn't talk so much then," Mr. HAYDEN is said to have answered.

Young men for the last two decades, however, have found the Senator from Arizona an invaluable friend and guide to the arcane ways of the Senate when first trying to ad-

One piece of testimony comes from former President Harry S. Truman. When he entered the Senate labeled with the brand of the Pendergast machine in Kansas City, Mo., Mr. Truman once said, "Senator HAYDEN Was

one of the few Members who did not act as

if he were beneath contempt."
"You were nice to me," Mr. HAYDEN said later during a campaign encounter with the Senator in Arizona. "You treated me like a normal human being."

#### WASHINGTON CONVERSATION

(As broadcast over the CBS Television network, February 18, 1962, 12:30 to 12:55 .p.m.)

Guest: The Honorable CARL HAYDEN, U.S. Senate (Democrat, of Arizona). • Host: Paul Niven.

Producer: Michael J. Marlow.

ANNOUNCER. Join us now for a "Washington Conversation" with a man who came to the Nation's Capital exactly 50 years ago, and on February 19, 1912, was sworn in as a Member of Congress-Carl Hayden, Democrat, of Arizona.

The CBS Television network presents "Washington Conversation," an attempt to sketch in some of the details of one of the most influential men in the Congress of the United States—a different approach to the brited States—a different approach to the private mind and public philosophy of an 84-year-old "Senators' Senator." In 1912, when Carl Hayden first came to Washington William Howard Taft was President and HAYDEN was starting out as Arizona's first and only Representative in Washington.

Today we invite you to meet this man who has served his State and his country for over one half a century-Senator CARL HAYDEN.

Your host for this informal, unrehearsed "Washington Conversation"—prerecorded on video tape in our studio conference room—is CBS News Correspondent Paul Niven.

Mr. Niven.

Mr. Niven. So, Senator Hayden, it was 50 years ago this weekend you arrived to take your seat in Congress. What was Washing-ton like in those days? What were your impressions when you got off the train? you remember?

Senator HAYDEN. I had been here before. It appeared about the same. It really was not nearly the busy town that it was. You traveled by streetcar, of course. And, I rode to the end of all the lines here just to kind of orient myself.

Mr. Niven. You first came here about 1890

when you were 13, I think?

Senator HAYDEN. Yes. Mr. Niven. Is it true you climbed a pole in

front of the White House?

Senator HAYDEN. As a small boy I wanted to see the last Grand Parade of the Grand Army of the Republic, that was being held at that time, and I climbed up on one of the gate posts in front of the white House and saw the old veterans go by. Mr. Niven. They were then—they were not

really old men, were they, in 1890? I suppose they were getting on.

Senator HAYDEN. They were-

Mr. Niven. In their sixties, perhaps.

Senator Hayden. Yes, in their sixtles. Mr. Niven. Senator, I understand that your mother began calling you "the Senator" when you were a very small boy. Is that true, and how did it happen? Senator HAYDEN. I don't remember that

myself but there is a story to that effect.

Mr. Niven. It is a legend. You, or your family had come from Connecticut, your father had come from Connecticut

Senator HAYDEN. My father was a native of Connecticut and my mother a native of Arkansas.

Mr. Niven. And you were the first white child born in the city of Hayden's Landing, weren't you?

Senator HAYDEN. It is Hayden's Ferry.

Mr. Niven. Hayden's Ferry, pardon. Senator Hayden. Yes. My father established the ferry there and a flour mill way back about 1872 and I wasn't born until 1877.

Mr. NIVEN. And all the children that had been born there before were Indians? Senator HAYDEN. There was an Indian community nearby, yes.

Mr. Niven. Senator, your first public office was as sheriff, was it not?

Senator Hayden. No. My first public office was a member of the town council of the town of Tempe. I served on that for 2

years. Then I served for 2 years as the county treasurer of Maricopa County; and then for 7 years I was the sheriff of the county.

Mr. Niven. Did you carry a .45, as sheriff? Senator HAYDEN. Yes, for 5 years. Mr. Niven. Ever have to use it?

Senator HAYDEN. No, no-just as a matter of precaution. I missed it greatly when I came to the Senate and to the House, and a Member said, "Why, if that is all your trouble, put a couple of doorknobs in your pocket." [Laughter.]

Mr. Niven. You caught a couple of train robbers in a rather famous posse, didn't you?

Could you tell about that?

Senator HAYDEN. Well, they robbed a train at Maricopa, tied their horses in the brush on the Gila River, and the train came up some distance. Why, they had robbed the passengers and all. The train came in the evening, we put our horses on the cattle cars and went over there the next morning. I called up some Indian scouts to go along with us and the sheriff of the adjoining county came and he wanted to go so I went in an automobile that waited until one of the Indians came back and indicated which way they were going. And, when he did, we pursued them in an automobile.

I remember it was an Apperson Jackrabbit, a very popular car in those days. Accompanied by the proprietor of a hotel and a customs officer, I finally caught up with the

party, and we captured the train robbers.

Mr. Niven. You had a problem with an Indian who had three wives, didn't you?

Senator HAYDEN. That is a story told by Charley Carter about something that hap-pened in Oklahoma 50 years ago that somebody erroneously attributed to me. Indians

in Arizona do not have three wives.

Mr. Niven. Well, there was another story which may be erroneous, too, that the local ladies complained that Indians came into town in breechclouts and made-got you to go and tell them to wear trousers. Is that

Senator HAYDEN. There was a city ordinance in Phoenix that required them to put on their pants before they came into town. Mr. Niven. How did you get your salary

Senator HAYDEN. Paid quarterly.

as sheriff?

Mr. NIVEN. Well, you also collected fees, didn't vou, from saloon keepers?

Senator HAYDEN. Yes. It was principally a fee office. I would have to go around with my receipt book and collect for a crap game or a roulette wheel or poker games and faro and the saloon itself and any gambling devices there.

Mr. Niven. Was there ever any difficulty in getting these fees?

Senator HAYDEN. Oh, no. They were glad to pay them, and the protection on that account. The time of collection I had decided would be about 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning after the old boys had been there and had their morning's morning and before they were crowded, and usually after I had made the collection the bartender would invite me to take a drink and I would explain

that I had a rule—nothing before sundown.

Mr. Niven. Did you ever stop to play, could

the sheriff gamble himself, properly?
Senator HAYDEN. No. I never was interested in gambling. I saw roulette wheels from the time I was big enough to stick my chin up over them and always in my mind it was the other man's game, you couldn't beat it.

Mr. Niven. You were never tempted? Senator HAYDEN. No.

Mr. Niven. Never did play at all? Senator Hayden. No. Oh, I don't mean to say I haven't put four bits on a wheel, or something like that, but to be a gambler-

Mr. Niven. When you first came to the Congress, was the work of the Congress much simpler, much easier than it is now?

Senator Hayden. Oh, yes; because the Government did not have as many activities. can illustrate that by a statement made to me by Governor Shallenberger; he had been Governor of Nebraska and was a Member of the House. He had time to devise the system whereby we established local boards instead of sending soldiers to get men for the draft, a local board sends a man to-to tell the man whether he was to go or not. And I asked him how he had time to think about those things. He said, "Well, you know, the only Federal interest in my State at this time is a rural letter carrier.'

It's very different now. Mr. Niven. You worked very hard, though, from the beginning, didn't you, spending many hours in the Library of Congress doing your own research?

Senator HAYDEN. What I had to do was work on committees that I thought would help build a territory into a State, and so I asked for the Committees on Irrigation of Arid Lands and Public Lands, Indian Affairs, Mines and Mining, so that there was always work to do in that connection, my committee work.

Mr. Niven. And you went on appropriations at a later stage in your Senate career

Senator HAYDEN. No. That was after I

Mr. NIVEN. After you came to the Senate. Did you go out right onto Appropriations when you came to the Senate?

I had Senator HAYDEN, Yes. chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the House, that appropriated money for the Indian Bureau at that time, and ver modest appropriations—on, if we got \$12 or \$14 million, we were doing very well.

But Senator Pittman, of Nevada, and Senator King, of Utah, said that our part of the United States had not had representation upon their Appropriations Committee for a long time, and this "South in the saddle" didn't go any more and that I must become a member to represent that area. And they were inflential enough to fix it so that I became a member of the Appropriations Committee, but it was a week after I became a Senator in 1927.

Mr. Niven. And Arizona has had a long inning on the Appropriations Committee since?

Senator HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. Niven. When you first came here as a Congressman, did you get any valuable advice from some of the older members?

Senator HAYDEN. Oh, yes; they were very kind to me. I inquired about how things were done, and so on, and they were very good to me.

I remember one old Congressman from Missouri gave me some very good advice. I had been there from February until June when Congress adjourned and he called me off and said, "Now, look, you're a Congressman and you're going home and you are supposed to know a lot of things. Actually you haven't been around here long enough to know anything." He said, "If you go home and follow the usual method of meeting your friends, go along on the street, go into the places of business, but if somebody wants to talk to you about some important subject, you'll be sorry because you have an appointment up the street because you'll soon find out you don't know any more than he does."

Mr. Niven. How long-how long did it take you to fully understand the legislative system? Can you remember? Senator Hayden. Oh, I don't think any-

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body fully understands it yet. There are

all kinds of angles to it, you know.

Mr. Niven. But I don't imagine after 50 years you are still learning new facets, and-Senator HAYDEN. Well, there is always

something new turns up. Mr. NIVEN. There is?

Senator HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. Niven. Extraordinary.

President Kennedy, when he spoke at your testimonial dinner in Phoenix, quoted a speech you had made years ago in which "I know that Congress does not you said, conduct its business in an efficient manner. If any corporation had a board of directors as inefficient as Congress, it would become bankrupt in a year."

Do you still believe that, sir?

Senator HAYDEN. The President reminded me of something I said a long time ago. And I hesitate to say that, although it is true that there are many places in the Government where good business practice would be very helpful.

Mr. Niven. Would you like, do you favor any particular reforms of the legislative branch?

Senator HAYDEN. No. Avenues to obtain information necessary to make appropriations are wide open, you can get anything you want to know.

Mr. Niven. You don't you're not, for instance, among those who say a parliamentary system would be more effective and more efficient?

Senator HAYDEN. No, no. I would not. I like the way the Senate operates.

Mr. Niven. It is essential, I suppose, to geographically—your part of the country particularly, to Arizona the Federal System has been very important, isn't that true?

Senator HAYDEN. No more so than anywhere else. The whole point of it is that the Senate represents States, not the Nation as a whole. The House is the national body and of course represents population. represent the areas of States, and we also enjoy freedom of debate. I would never have been a Senator but for the fact that we had freedom of debate in the Senate. Oklahoma, an Indian territory, was admitted, and it was well known they would be a democratic State because of that area. To make up for that the Republicans in Congress wanted to unite Arizona and New Mexico, and so pro-

A small group of Senators just simply talked and talked and talked and said, "you can't do that," and finally they made an arrangement whereby we would have a separate vote in Arizona and New Mexico, and if either State decided that it didn't want to join statehood, we would then come in separately. Well they voted overwhelmingly for it in New Mexico and very much against it in Arizona so that made it possible for me to come to Congress. I never could have been here if it had been one State with New

Mr. Niven. After making very few speeches for the first few years you engaged in a fili-buster yourself, didn't you, at one point, quite an important one?

Senator HAYDEN. We had a bill to authorize the construction of what was called the Boulder Dam, it's now called the Hoover Dam, built in the administration of President Hoover, and prior to that time they had negotiated a compact between the States which related to the distribution of water and how it should be handled. And, President Hoover was then Secretary of Commerce and presided over that. Unfortunately Arizona did not ratify the compact, all of the other States did. Then the other States made up their mind we couldn't get a drop of water out of the river until we did ratify

it and in the meantime they proceeded with the construction of what was known as Boulder and now Hoover Dam. And of course we had to resist that and we did successfully for about a month in the long session of Congress. But, in the short session, why they made it the exclusive unfinished business of the Senate and held us right to it so finally we had to allow a vote, the bill to come to a vote after we obtained some concessions that we believed to be important.

Mr. Niven. It has been said that Arizona is just a big collection of monuments to CARL

HAYDEN—roads, airports, dams— Senator Hayden. That is an overstatement. Mr. Niven. But you have got quite a few things for your State over the years.

Senator HAYDEN. Not for Arizona alone. For example, we have a policy of conserving water everywhere, not only in Arizona or anywhere else. It so happened that one of the first reclamation—the first project under the reclamation law that was passed in 1902 when Mr. Roosevelt was President was carried out in Arizona, but there have been many other projects which we have helped to inaugurate and put into effect.

And, the same way with power develop-ment and highways. We have been interested in a national system of highways becausenot for Arizona alone, but so that people could come to Arizona. We have wonderful scenery in northern Arizona, the Petrified Forest and the Grand Canyon. We think we have the finest winter climate in America, so that Arizona-a national system of highways made it accessible to the American public.

Mr. NIVEN. Well, has your success in getting these things for Arizona and for other States stemmed mainly from your power as appropriations chairman or your seniority or simply your ability to get a lot of

Senator HAYDEN. It doesn't stem from any power. If you have a good project, the Congress will adopt it. Nobody has the power to impose anything on the Congress or procure the enactment into legislation.

Mr. Niven. A lot has been written about the so-called Senate Club, or the Inner Circle, the group of, loosely defined informal group of very influential senior Senators who

Senator HAYDEN. That is more or less a

Mr. Niven. It is a myth? Senator Hayden. Yes. There are Senators that have been there longer and know their way about, but they don't get off in a huddle and decide what the rest of the Senators will do. They wouldn't stand for that.

Mr. Niven. Is all legislation, as a Senator once said, the result of compromise?

Senator HAYDEN. That is exactly what Champ Clark told me when I first came to the House. He said: "Young man I want you to remember, you can't have everything your own way. There never was an important piece of legislation enacted by Congress which was not the result of compromise."

Mr. NIVEN. It has to be.

There is a great suspicion I think in the country at large of compromise, of logrolling and of horse trading but isn't this the only way a country as large as this can govern

Senator HAYDEN. Champ Clark stated a

Mr. Niven. Uh-huh.

Senator HAYDEN. You just don't enact important legislation except by coming to an agreement, where there are differences of opinion.

Mr. NIVEN. And does one Senator go to another Senator and say "I will join you on this if you will support me on this?"

Senator HAYDEN. That would be a very unusual circumstance.

Mr. Niven. It would be unusual? Senator HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. Niven. Is that necessary, would that necessarily be-

Senator HAYDEN. I don't know, that is just—looks like you didn't care anything about the merits of what you do, and Senators don't do that.

Mr. Niven. Senator, you have been very famous for avoiding publicity all your life. Why is that?

Senator HAYDEN. Well, I couldn't see any advantage in talking a great deal about something. It's much better to do it and

let the results speak for itself. Mr. Niven. It has been said that Senator HAYDEN detests publicity, distrusts newspapers, and avoids reporters as if they were emissaries come direct from Typhoid Mary

Senator HAYDEN. Well, it's not quite that bad. But nevertheless, I have considered that where we had executive sessions and confidential information that I would not spill it and I in that way, of course, avoided the press because if you don't see them, you don't have to talk to them.

Mr. Niven. And you never held press conferences.

Senator HAYDEN. Pardon?

Mr. Niven. You have never held press conferences, news conferences.

Senator HAYDEN. If I have, they have been very exceedingly rare.

Mr. Niven. How about publicity in Ari-Surely in an election campaign, zona? while your opposition has never been very

formidable, seldom been very formidable— Senator HAYDEN. My whole theory is thatyou do your work and if people inquire of you about it, you can explain it, if they don't understand it; but the work speaks for itself and you don't have to make a

parade.
Mr. Niven. Have you worried much at election time, have you run scared?

Senator Hayden. Well, I always feel a little more confident after all the ballots are cast and the count begins to favor me.

Mr. Niven. You once lost an election in

college, didn't you?

Senator HAYDEN. Yes. I was candidate for president of the student body at Stanford University. Herbert Hoover's brother, Theodore Hoover was one candidate, I was another, and a gentleman by the name of Diggles. Diggles had a very good organiza-Diggles. I had the most votes on the first time and then we had to run it off, like a Texas primary, and everybody thought I had run so well in the first ballot that there was no question. I went all around over the campus telling them that Diggles had a good organization, was getting the votes in and please come over and vote for me. But I remember there were at least four students from Arizona who promised to go but didn't, and I lost out by four votes.

Mr. Niven. Senator, do you plan to run for reelection to the Senate this year? Senator HAYDEN. Why, I answer that ques-

tion always, when the filing times is in July, that after every time I have been elected the next day they want to know whether you are going to run next time and my answer is "why not."

Mr. Niven. Is that your answer now? Senator HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. NIVEN. So, in other words, you will be announcing in the proper time.

Senator HAYDEN. I say "why not?" Mr. Niven. Well, thank you very much, Senator Hayden. It's been a pleasure to have you with us in this Washington Con-

Senator HAYDEN. Thank you.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. Dirksen], the minority leader, and myself—and, I am sure, the other 98 Senators—I submit a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be stated.

The Legislative Clerk read as follows: Whereas the Honorable CARL HAYDEN, senior Senator from Arizona, first became a Member of the House of Representatives on February 19, 1912, upon the admission of Arizona as a State of the Union; and

Whereas from such date until March 3, 1927, he continued to serve as a Member of the House of Representatives from Arizona;

Whereas from March 4, 1927, until the present time, he has served as a United States Senator from Arizona: and

Whereas during his long and distinguished career as a Member of Congress, he has been admired and respected for his outstanding ability, courage, and untiring devotion to duty, and has been loved for his modesty, sincerity, and understanding; and

Whereas his able and dedicated service as a Member of Congress has contributed immeasurably to the welfare of the peoples of his State and his Nation; and

Whereas today, the nineteenth day of February 1962, marks the fiftieth anniversary of continuous service by the Honorable CARL HAYDEN as a Member of Congress from the State of Arizona: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate, in tribute to his long and distinguished service to his State and Nation, extends to the Honorable Carl Havnen, senior Senator from Arizona and beloved President pro tempore of the Senate, its sincere congratulations and felicitations on this, the fiftieth anniversary of the commencement of his service as a Member of Congress, and expresses the fervent wish that the Senate and the Nation may, for many years to come, continue to benefit from the wise and capable guidance and leadership which he has so long and so generously rendered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, there is current in the English language a word which is one of the most useful I have ever encountered. It is the word "tradition." It fits everywhere. It has a rather amorphous meaning, in a sense; but when one is at a loss for a word, just insert the word "tradition," and it will probably fit. But "tradition" does have a real meaning; and in the history of this country, by our national tradition, we think of all the events, all the achievements, all the personalities, all the tears, all those things which conjoin to give us a great and glorious

Tradition would include the Pilgrims coming to Plymouth Rock and the sacrifices of the Puritans. It would include the War of the Revolution and all its great exploits. It would include the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It would include the unfortunate civil strife. It would include the entry of the great Lone Star State of Texas into the Union upon her own request, after that great State had wrested its own independence from Mexico, and did not come into the Union particularly as a suppliant, but actually on equal ground with the Union. All these things are included in tradition.

Tradition includes personalities, and one need only talk of the ghosts that are in this Chamber or the ghosts that were

in the first Capitol in New York, great men who have studded the history of the country with outstanding achievements.

Out of that progress one gets a sense of continuity; but I think one gets it best if in our own lifetime there is a great contemporary statesman whose lifetime is the equal of one-half of the life of this Republic.

CARL HAYDEN was born in 1877. I must say, CARL, that you picked an awfully unfortunate time; because only 4 years before, almost to the day, occurred the

panic of Black Friday, in 1873.

I think if it had been up to me to select a time to be born, I would not have asked to be born particularly in that feverish economic period in our history. But I think it was a good time for you. However, if you go back beyond that only the length of your own lifetime, you go back to 1789, and that was when the Republic was founded. So your lifetime has spanned half the life of the Republic. All we have to do today is to look closely into your contribution to the Republic, and there we see a sense of continuity, a picture of continuity, which gives one a better estimate of our own history.

When we go back to 1877, we think of all the economic difficulties, the building of the West, the expansion of the railroads, and the ultimate geographic integrity of the Union, because six or eight States were still to be added from then until now-perhaps more. Nevertheless, we have witnessed the unfolding of the Union in its geographic and its economic

So when I saw you yesterday on the television program—and may I congratulate you upon it—I thought of how quickly so many of the incidents and details concerning the events through which you lived have come so rapidly to pass. If I were to advise any student on how best he could obtain a graphic picture of the development of the Republic, I should say he could well address himself to your lifetime, covering half the life of the Republic; and there it would

What a pleasure, CARL, it has been to serve with you; and what a double pleasure it has been to serve, under your benign chairmanship, as a member of the Committee on Appropriations. I shall always cherish that experience. have contributed much to the Republic, and you have done it so gracefully and with a minimum of persuasion.

Mrs. Dirksen remarked, when we were watching the television program yesterday: "He has done so much for Arizona. Has he made so many speeches on the floor of the House and Senate?"

I said: "No; his speeches have been few and far between. What has actually happened has been that whenever Representative Carl Hayden or Senator Carl HAYDEN came before a committee with a project or any other request for his State, one could be quite certain that it was worthy, it was justifiable, and it needed little persuasion and rhetorical advancement.

So I count myself singularly fortunate to have been privileged to serve in this

body with you. I come as a younger person; but I am always willing, as disciple and a pupil, to sit at the feet of a master.

I wish we could create and bestow upon you a title, and call it Senator emeritus: because if anyone richly deserves it, that gentleman is CARL HAYDEN.

So, on this notable occasion, I congratulate you.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the Washington Star of this afternoon carries on its front page an article with the headline "Fifty Years in Congress— HAYDEN Sets New Record."

Mr. President, the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN] is the only Member of this body serving here today who occupied a seat in the Senate when I first took the oath of office as a Senator of the United States. That has been almost 30 years ago. I can assert without any fear of contradiction that in that 30-year period there has not been a single year when the distinguished President pro tempore of the Senate, my good friend, Senator CARL HAYDEN, has not set new records by his service here. He has served longer than any other Member of the Senate. I do not know with how many hundreds of men he has served in the Senate; but I do know that every man with whom he has ever served has had a real affection for him. Every one of them liked to feel that he had a little special knowledge-a realization that CARL HAYDEN is something very extraordinary in the way of a man. We also like to feel that this realization is shared only by his good friends. That statement is accurate, Mr. President, for that realization is shared by CARL HAYDEN'S good friends-by all who have served in the Congress during half a century, and also by all the citizens of Arizona and by a goodly portion of the population of these United States.

Mr. President, as a Georgian, I am proud of my native State. I love her red-clay hills, the broad expanses of her coastal plains, and her beaches where the Atlantic ceaselessly rolls. I thrill to the glorious history of my State. But, Mr. President, I must confess that I am a little jealous of the State of Arizona. for through a combination of good luck and good judgment, since Arizona first achieved statehood, in 1912, there has not been a single moment when the State of Arizona has not enjoyed the leadership of this remarkable man. I venture to say here, in the presence of many men who have worked with him, that in all the history of these United States no one man has contributed more to the building of a State than CARL HAYDEN has contributed to the State of Arizona.

When CARL HAYDEN first came to the Congress, Arizona was one of the most sparsely populated States of the Union. Arizona then had vast expanses of desert and mountains, but very little agriculture, some cattle, and a good many gunmen, bandits, and Indians on the warpath.

But what do we find in Arizona today? Today, Arizona has the most rapidly

growing population of any State in the Union, and Arizona has developed a great industrial system, airports, and military bases, and has magnificent highways that bring thousands of tourists into the State each year. Irrigation has brought water to her fertile plains, and Arizona's agricultural production is not equaled per acre, by that of the other States of the Union. The handiwork of CARL HAYDEN will be found in each and everyone of those developments.

Mr. President, I remember when I first came to the Senate, almost three decades ago, I heard the late Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, say in the cloakroom that if Virginia were ever allowed to have a third Senator, he was going to try to get CARL HAYDEN to fill the place. It did not take me long to find out why he said that, and I doubt not that every man who has been in the Senate long enough to learn his way around would feel the same way about CARL HAYDEN, when we see what he has done to develop and to build the State of Arizona.

Mr. President, CARL HAYDEN is not one who is without weaknesses for he has one outstanding weakness: It is his excessive modesty. For many years I have heard references made to those who have "a passion for anonymity." But, Carl HAYDEN is the only man I have ever seen in Washington, in any position-high or low, who really, genuinely has a passion for anonymity. Yet-and I know that none of my colleagues would contradict this statement, either on or off the record—despite that trait, there is no more highly respected or influential man in either House of the Congress. Mr. President, I think all of us can find a lesson in that simple fact. CARL HAYDEN'S influence arises from his role as a doer, not a talker: his influence is founded on his record of performance, rather than on mere words and promises.

Mr. President, many men who have come into this body might well have taken advantage of the pearls of wisdom that have come from Carl Hayden's vast experience. When I first came here, he said to me something that I have carried with me from that day to this. He said to me "that it is comparatively easy to explain a vote, no matter on which side of the issue one may have voted, but it is always extremely difficult to explain a speech. I have thought about that a thousand times, and whenever I have been tempted to take the floor and address the Senate at a time when I was not absolutely sure of the facts, I have remembered that Hayden proverb, and have remained silent, rather than be compelled at some later date to explain such a speech.

I venture to say that very few men who have served in the Senate for only one term have had as few words put in the RECORD as CARL HAYDEN has had since he came to this body in 1927, and that despite the fact—perhaps I should not say this, in this enlightened age, when the word almost has a connotation of great crime—that on one occasion he was one of the outstanding filibusterers of the Senate, when he held the floor for days, to prevent the passage of proposed legislation which he deemed harmful to his State and to its people. Mr. President, Carl Hayden does not fill the Record with useless verbiage.

We may say of Carl Hayden that if he has ever promised anything, he has delivered; and he has never performed any less than he has promised. In his case, the old saying that "his word is as good as his bond" is an understatement, because Carl Hayden's word is a guarantee—as certain as the mark "Sterling" on old silver—that what he says he will be done.

That alone is a mark of true greatness. But it is only one of this man's qualities.

To my way of thinking, a great leader is a man of integrity; a man of courage; and a man of wisdom. Over the nearly 30 years I have been privileged to serve with this man I have discussed many grave problems and issues with Carl Hayden. In every case he has approached those problems with integrity, courage, and wisdom.

I can assert at this moment that I have never made a mistake when I have followed his advice and counsel.

Mr. President, lawyers predominate in this body. I have not checked on it, but I know that down through the years a majority of the Members of the Senate have been members of the bar. But I discovered many years ago that, although CARL HAYDEN is not a lawyer, there is no greater authority on our National Constitution in this body than the distinguished President pro tempore, the Senator from Arizona. He has true reverence for the Constitution of the United States, and that has made him one of our truly great scholars in that field. The Senate could do well to listen to him when he gives his interpretation of constitutional questions. He has respect for the oath he took at yonder desk. He has undertaken to support and defend and carry out the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

He is a believer in the true American concept of law and government under that Constitution. I am proud to say that he believes in the Senate of the United States as a unique institution among the parliamentary bodies of the earth. He is, to quote that distinguished journalist, William S. White, a "Senate man," a "Senate type."

Mr. President, you will never find Carl Hayden trading the prerogatives which have made this the greatest parliamentary body in the history of the world for any mess of votes from any corner of the State of Arizona. He would never abandon the position that the Constitution of the United States intended for the Senate in any effort to rush helter-skelter to adopt legislation designed with purely political motives in mind.

And after another 50 years of service here, before he finally retires or shuffles off this mortal coil, he can face any man and say, "No act of mine has subtracted one jot or title from the standing of the U.S. Senate as the forum of the States of this Union."

The passage of his five decades in Congress has been through many soul-

history of the earth. Whatever the times or the issues, Senator Hayden has been a bulwark of constitutional government. He has been a national leader through three great wars; through periods of boom and times of depression. Each one of the 50 years he has served in this body has seen his stature increase. He has accumulated with the years an even greater store of wisdom and honor. He is a legend in the Senate and the ex-

even greater store of wisdom and honor. He is a legend in the Senate and the experience he has acquired he bestows freely on his colleagues, on his party, the Democratic Party. Overall, the welfare and security of our beloved country has been the lode star that has guided him always.

I say to my friend, as you enter into your second 50 years of service in the Senate of the United States, that you carry with you the affection and best wishes of all who have come in contact with you.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record an article from the Associated Press appearing in the Washington Star this afternoon.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTY YEARS IN CONGRESS—HAYDEN SETS NEW RECORD

Senator Carl Hayden, who swapped his sheriff's badge for a seat in Congress 5 days after Arizona became a State, today becomes the first man to serve as a Member of Congress for 50 years.

The 84-year-old Democrat, third in line of succession to the Presidency, was sworn into the House of Representatives February 19, 1912. After 15 years as Arizona's only Representative, Senator Hayden moved to the Senate in 1927.

Today he is dean of the Senate and of Congress. However, he is little known outside Washington, because he resolutely shuns publicity and rarely speaks in public. Asked in a recent interview to name his

Asked in a recent interview to name his greatest accomplishment, he replied:
"I just can't do it. A man does one piece

"I just can't do it. A man does one piece of work one time; another piece of work, and then another. To look back 50 years and say one thing is more important than another is something I can't do."

## TRIBUTE FROM KENNEDY

Last November, at a testimonial dinner in Phoenix, President Kennedy had this to say about Senator HAYDEN:

"Every Federal program which has contributed to the West—irrigation, power and reclamation—bears his mark. And the great Federal highway program which binds this country together, which permits this State to be competitive east and west, north and south—this in large measure is his creation."

Senator Hayden is expected to be a candidate this year for his seventh 6-year Senate term.

Senator HAYDEN, a tall, lean, bald man who smokes cigars, is president pro tempore of the Senate, a position that goes to the member of the majority party who has served longest. This puts him third in line to the Presidency, behind Vice President JOHNSON and Speaker McCORMACK.

Although he has served longer than any of the more than 10,000 other Congressmen in U.S. history, Senator Hayden balks at the suggestion that he fully understands the legislative system.

"Oh, I don't think anybody fully understands it yet," he said in an interview taped for a television program, CBS—"Washington Conversation."

"There are all kinds of angles to it. There is always something new turns up."

Senator HAYDEN brushed aside the theory that an inner circle of senior Senators control the "so-called Senate Club."

"That is more or less a myth," he said, adding that the ranking Senators may "know their way about, but they don't get off in a huddle and decide what the rest of the Senators will do."

"They (others) wouldn't stand for that." Senator HAYDEN was born October 2, 1877, at Hayden's Ferry, now Tempe. His father had founded the settlement.

He was educated in the public schools of Tempe and Stanford University where he met his future wife, Nan Downing, whom he married in 1908. Mrs. Hayden died last June.

Senator Hayden concedes that his performance as a sheriff in the pioneer West would be a disappointment to today's TV Western fans.

"I never shot at anyone and nobody ever shot at me," he said.

"The nearest I came to shooting anyone was the day I identified a horsethief who was described as badly wanted in Utah, Colorado, and Wyoming."

Senator Hayden confirmed that as an Arizona sheriff he helped capture two train robbers in an adjoining county. Indian scouts located the robbers the day after the robbery, he recalled, and "we pursued them in an automobile."

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I most happily and sincerely join in the sentiments that have been expressed in eulogizing our distinguished colleague and the senior Member of this body. I can add little to what has been said.

I think it was sometime last fall that a dinner in his honor was tendered Senator Hayden in Phoenix, Ariz. I was in my home State at the time, and, having an invitation to attend, and being unable to go, I sent a telegram of congratulations. I somehow gained the impression then that the date of the dinner was the anniversary of the 50th anniversary of the commencement of his service in the Congress, and I worded my telegram accordingly. My message took that assumption into account.

Mr. President, the date may have been premature, but the sentiments I expressed were not. They were true then; they are true today. And if I said and meant my words then, I say them and mean them today. I say them with even stronger emphasis. I know of nothing more appropriate I could say than to read into the Record at this time the telegram I sent congratulating him on that occasion. The telegram reads as follows:

I join with all of our colleagues, your host of personal friends and with millions of Americans throughout the country in extending to you warmest greetings and congratulations on this 50th anniversary of your distinguished statesmanship and service to your country in the national Congress. For me it has been a personal joy to serve with you and work under you as chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate and to work with you in many other areas of congressional activities and responsibilities. \*I look forward with the keenest of pleasure to the continuation of our laboring and being associated together.

For you, I have the deepest admiration and respect and I trust there may be many more happy returns of this day for you.

Mr. President, I can only add to that message today that I have looked upon and relied upon our distinguished colleague as a friend and a counselor.

Many times have I sought his advice. Every time I have received the information I needed and the guidance that my inexperience, as compared to his experience, required.

I know he is President pro tempore of the Senate, an official position which in a sense makes him head of this body in the absence of the Vice President of the United States. Mr. President, I seldom refer to him as President pro tempore of the Senate. I have a term of my own, a little greeting which I fondly and affectionately use. To me he is the "chief." I greet him frequently as "Chief." I do that in a spirit of highest respect, because among all the Members of this body he is my chief.

I congratulate him on this day. The Lord bless him and keep him, and may he continue to be with us and to labor with us for our country for many years to come.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, we are indeed proud and happy as we celebrate the 50 years of service of our friend and colleague Carl Hayden, in the Congress of the United States.

When I was privileged to enter the House of Representatives some 38 years ago, Carl Hayden was one of the most respected and beloved Members of that body and surely one of its most outstanding Members in his ability, his dedication, and his statesmanship. He gave to me, then the baby Member of the House, the help, the encouragement, and the inspiration of his friendship—a friendship that has continued through the years with unabated warmth and with many blessings for me.

We who know CARL HAYDEN'S worth and his works, who have been privileged to witness at firsthand his lifelong enterprises dedicated to the common good, who have witnessed his devotion to our country and his splendid achievements in her cause, who honor him for the magnificent example he has set for the younger generations by his pursuit of knowledge, by his skill and his courage, by the integrity of his character, and by the purity of his purpose in maintaining the dignity and highest ideals of his profession, rejoice to salute him today. We. who love CARL HAYDEN for what he is personally and professionally, hail the advent of his golden jubilee with the acclaim that is due the prize winner in the race of life's noblest achievements. We salute CARL HAYDEN, the man, the friend, the patriot, and we salute CARL HAYDEN, the institution of statesmanship. May it be said of him, as was said of Sophocles in his 100th year, "In his heart forever flows the warm blood of youth."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I join with the many friends of Carl Haynen in congratulating him on the 50th anniversary of his service in the Congress of the United States, and wish for him many more happy years to come.

My first acquaintance with Senator Hayden came in 1909 and 1910, when I was a schoolboy in Mesa and he was sheriff of Maricopa County. Our acquaintanceship then was brief, I am glad to say, because he was keeping order

in a baseball game in which I participated. We won the game and went home as quickly as we could, and without any loss of life or limb, because of the order the sheriff kept on that day.

Later our acquaintance became friendship when I became a U.S. Senator.

I have served on the Appropriations Committee for some 14 years, and he has served on the committee and has been chairman of it for a considerable number of those years.

What appeals to me about CARL HAY-DEN is that he knows his business. He knows his business as a U.S. Senator, because he knows how to get things done in this body. He knows how to get legislation passed. Those of us who have come here after him can take lessons from the way CARL HAYDEN works. When he is interested in a subject he keeps after it. He sees the individual members of the committee considering the proposed legislation and uses his persausive abilities to show them how his position is the right one and why they should join. We seldom hear from him on the floor of the Senate. We seldom hear from him on the floor because we do not need to. He has accomplished his job and he has accomplished his work before that time, before the bill is presented to the Senate. He accomplishes his objective because he is patient, because he is intelligent, because he is helpful to other Members, and because he is always an optimist. He always believes in what he feels is the right way, and what should become the law of the land sooner

For these reasons Arizona has benefited from his long service. All of us in the United States have benefited from that service, because of his great understanding of the problems of today as they affect us domestically and as they affect our country internationally.

Carl, I hope you and I serve together on the Committee on Appropriations for many years to come, because I know that during that time I shall still be greatly influenced on this side of the aisle by your persuasive arguments on matters which come before us.

Congratulations and best wishes.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am particularly happy to be able to join in the tributes, commendations, and messages of good cheer and good will to a distinguished patriot, a great Senator, an outstanding legislator, a statesman, a public servant, a good man and a good friend by the name of Carl Hayden.

I have visited Senator Hayden's State of Arizona on several occasions. All one really needs to do to make sure he will be received with the most cordial and gracious hospitality and welcome is to say he knows Carl Hayden or is a friend of Senator Hayden. Then the great hospitality of the people of Arizona becomes even more generous and more considerate, because the people are so justly proud of this fine and good man.

Mr. President, if ever there was a man who exemplified the famous words of Abraham Lincoln in his second inaugural address, "With malice toward none; with charity of all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," it is

the senior Senator from Arizona. I have never heard Senator HAYDEN say an unkind word about his colleagues or about anyone. I do not believe there is such a thing as malice in his heart, in his background, or in his words. I have known that he has exemplified that great principle of charity every day of his life. I can to this attribute from personal experience, because he has been charitable to me, and that kind of charity one never forgets.

I read this morning the New York Times article about Senator Hayden, written by Mr. Russell Baker. I wish to thank Mr. Baker publicly for the article, and of course all the other journalists and commentators—and there have been many indeed—who have written so sincerely, so objectively, and so complimentarily of Senator Hayden.

I think it was in the Russell Baker article that President Truman is reported to have said that one of the reasons why he grew to love Carl Hayden was that when he, President Truman, first came to the Senate, Carl Hayden treated him like a genuine human being, with kindness, warmth, and friendship. What finer qualities can one have than those qualities of humanity?

I believe that in its 50 years of state-hood, Arizona has sent only six men to the U.S. Senate. As we know, one of those men has truly endured, and that man is the gentleman whom we salute today, Arizona's first U.S. Representative, and certainly Arizona's first citizen—Carl Hayden.

Today CARL HAYDEN marks the 50th anniversary of his arrival on Capitol Hill and begins his 51st year of dedicated service to his State and Nation. What a wonderful thing it is to see one so rich in experience remain so young. He typifies that wonderful musical number "Young in Heart." He does not make many speeches in the Senate. He does not When he does speak, Senators give him their attention. I have yet to see a request of this distinguished Senator that has not been fulfilled. It is a privilege to be associated with him, if only indirectly. No State in the Union bears the mark of one great man to a greater extent than does Arizona, with respect to its senior Senator, Carl Hayden.

No State has a stronger and more devoted champion in the U.S. Congress. No State owes more to any one single individual, and no State has a stronger, more devoted, or more sincere champion of its interests and of its welfare in the Senate than Senator HAYDEN.

As the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Saltonstall], and others, have said, CARL HAYDEN has proven himself a thousand times over as a man who can get a job done. He is the man who can perform the job, whether it is obtaining authorization for some valuable and important irrigation or hydroelectric program in the Far West that means so much to the people of that area, or whether it is bringing about a compromise between what seems like a deadlock situation between the two Houses of Congress. I do not believe CARL HAY-DEN has ever heard the word "impossible." If he has, he has ignored it. He

has shoved it aside, and he has performed what is possible. He has always made the word "impossible" a possibility of success.

Here is a man without a trace of condescension, one who has given valuable advice and instruction to every Senate freshman who has ever asked for it, from Harry Truman to John F. Kennedy. Here is a man who has never faltered on the road to his only objective—what is best for his State and what is best for the United States of America.

CARL HAYDEN is a partisan but, first of all, as has been said here so many times, he is an American. He bears the one title above all others that is so meaningful in this country—citizen.

He is indeed a great citizen. Those of us who have had the privilege of standing alongside him or standing in the shadow of his greatness, feel that it is a distinct honor to serve with him and to be his friend. I wish him many years of continued good health, many years of continued service in the Senate, and many reelections.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article about Carl Hayden, written by Oren Arnold and published in the Point West magazine, issue of February 1962, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

### HAYDEN

### (By Oren Arnold)

(Editor's Note.—It is right and proper that in celebrating our golden anniversary of statehood, Arizonians should honor the one man who has done the most for our State.)

In one of the public schools a while back, eighth graders were asked on a written exam to name the three great branches of the American Government. One child wrote with more accuracy than the unimaginative teacher let her get by with—"The President, the Superb Court, and Mr. Carl Hayden." Truly it is not to farfetched to list Hay-

Truly it is not to farfetched to list Hayden as a separate branch of the Government, for more than any other man alive he personifies the Congress of the United States. "Who says so?" Truth is, almost everybody in the know says so. Ike Eisenhower, for instance. And Dick Nixon. And Herbert Hoover. And when Jack Kennedy was invited to Phoenix in November to speak at a dinner honoring Hayden, he leaped at the chance, saying, "Indeed, yes. This is a historic occasion." How many Presidents leave the crises of national and international affairs to fly 2,500 miles just to greet one shy little man? Republican Senator Case of South Dakota says flatly that "Carl Hayden knows more about the U.S. Government than any other man alive." Almost all the leading Members of Congress gathered to celebrate Hayden's 80th birthday; scrolls of praise came in signed by thousands; wine flowed, speeches were made, the highjinks echoed all over Washington. But guess what?—the honoré himself didn't even attend the party. He was much too busy at his desk.

Our Mr. HAYDEN'S amazing political power stems from two sources:

1. He has long been chairman of the immensely important Senate Appropriations Committee. This means, in effect, that he controls the spending of almost all the billions of dollars we taxpayers pour into Washington each year, and the additional billions for which we have mortgaged our future.

2. He consistently makes himself the best informed, most knowledgeable man concerning all legislation (not just that affecting Arizona) of all the Representatives and Senators sent to Congress. And they usually turn to the grizzled old veteran from Arizona for his appraisal. They have learned that he knows more about the bill than does its sponsor; he, the silent one who never, never makes speeches up there, is better informed about its impact on the sponsor's home State and on the Nation as a whole. This may sound incredible, but it is also true; his own colleagues frankly admit it.

How has all this come about? How did a farmboy from the desert emerge as one of the most powerful political personalities of our time?

CARL HAYDEN launched his career at age 22. Upon news of his father's death, he took over the family business interests in Arizona, which were extensive. Immediately, too, he felt the call for public service—and it was a call. At that time, running for office held the self-sacrificial dignity it too seldom enjoys now. At age 25 he was elected to the Tempe Town Council, his very first office. Next step was up or down, as you view it; he was the town fire chief. But he also was in the Territorial militia, then in 1904 ran for Maricopa County treasurer, won it and served 2 years. After that he hit as high as he himself ever expected to go—from 1907 to 1912 he was county sheriff.

Smirking gents in Maricopa County said that Carl Hayden was much too mild to sling a gun as a lawman. One episode corrected that impression.

Two tough Woodson brothers from Oklahoma held up a passenger train near Gila Bend, robbed everybody, pulled the emergency cord, and escaped on two horses they had staked in the bush.

Normally Sheriff Carl should have ridden hell-for-leather at the head of a big horse-back posse, dust flying in the golden sunset. And Carl did send a posse out. Their dust telegraphed their presence for miles around, which was helpful to the Woodsons.

But Carl himself commandeered a wheezy old Apperson Jackrabbit automobile, circled fast toward Flattop Mountain and—yes, cut them off at the pass. The Woodson boys saw him coming up to their camp. Being in a car, this stranger naturally wouldn't be a lawman, they figured; he'd be a rich mining man out looking at his claims. So they'd play it cool and wait him out, their guns hidden under saddle blankets.

But that drama was as real as a rattlesnake, and next moment the Woodsons were looking into the muzzle of Sheriff Carl's rifle. He sent an Indian back for the galloping posse, took his bandits in and shepherded them into Leavenworth prison. When his wife Nan was audibly worrying about what disaster might have fallen her young husband-sheriff, he gave her dubious comfort. "There was no danger," soothed her. "I couldn't have hurt them, for my rifle had no cartridges in it. I never carry a loaded gun."

He was born in an adobe house still standing near the Salt River. His papa, Charles Trumbull Hayden, had known men who fought for American indepedence. He came westward from Independence, Mo., with 14 wagons and founded Haydens Ferry, the town now famous as the home of Arizona State University, the town renemed for that beautiful Grecian Vale of Tempe. Baby CARL appeared October 2, 1877, weighing 9 pounds 10 ounces. The Salt River Herald called him "the prize baby of Maricopa County," and from that, fate seemed to take its cue.

He did not immediately live up to prize promise; as a small boy he was puny. At age 6 he ran away from home and hid for hours on top of Tempe Butte, a nearby mountain, just to nag his mother. At age 7 he was sent after the milch cows with a

specific warning to "beware of that dangerous bull." Mother screamed in horror when he came home riding the huge bull and driving the milkers.

He and little sisters Sallie and Mary (whom he nicknamed "Mapes") attended a one-room school. Carl was the star pupil, the star problem. He swapped his mother's carefully prepared "growing diet," packed in a lard bucket, for the more exotic cold tortillas and tamales which a Mexican boy brought. Probably both lads benefited; at any rate since about 1890 Carl Hayden has known nothing but excellent health. To the envy of many younger Senators and citizens everywhere, he still has all but one of his original teeth. Mr. Hayden credits his good luck to his mother's good cooking and to the fluorine content of Arizona's water.

"Carl was born before germs were invented," Miss Sallie Hayden told us not long ago. "Our school was on an irrigation canal. Upstream, it served, as always, as something of a sewage disposal plant. When Carl would lie on his tummy to drink from it, teacher was horrified and said he must drink from the bucket and dipper that hung in the classroom. This bucket water also came from the canal, but somehow bringing it inside gave it respectability."

Carl was an expert horseman, but also loved walking. He still does. He used to walk the 9 miles from Tempe to Phoenix. Even now in Washington he takes a walk each night after supper, a "constitutional"—what else?—down Constitution Avenue. One recent winter he slipped on ice, then showed up next day at the office with a wonderfully black eye. "Stop," the aged Senator commanded instantly, when his staff began an outcry. "Save your sympathy for the other fellow."

The staff of course couldn't let that pass, so they built it up around the Senate Building. They told of the boss clobbering some obnoxious colleague—a Republican, naturally—and a naive reporter heard it. He, poor soul, spent an intense 24 hours trying to track the "exclusive" story down.

That sort of thing is right up Hayden's alley; as a lad in Tempe he was eternally pulling somebody's leg. He was a skinny twerp and so stooped that his father made him wear shoulder braces. Even as a freshman years later at Stanford University Carl weighed only 132 pounds. But there, he suddenly got his growth; he became a center on the famed Stanford Indians football team. He could have played in the very first Rose Bowl game in 1902 (Michigan 49, Stanford 0) but he elected to go home for the holidays instead. A substitute center called "Rosy" Roosevelt from New York took his place—and suffered a broken leg in that game.

His new strength in college also gave him new courage. One Saturday an opposing center, many pounds heavier, kept driving his fist into Carl's abdomen during close scrimmage. The referee didn't detect it, so Carl made his own penalty for the tough. At next charge he lifted a knee—wham—into the vicious center's chin. It took about 10 minutes to restore him to action. "All right," Carl said to him then, "shall we play it clean or rough?"

"We'll get along," rumbled his opponent. This was powerful Jack Monroe, soon to achieve fame by fighting World Heavyweight Boxing Champion Jim Jeffries at Butte, Mont.

As a small boy CARL learned to swim the Salt River near his home. (No cracks, you modern folk; the Salt hadn't been dammed then.) At age 10 he attended a baptism at Point of Rocks on the Salt, and the preacher sent him out to test the depth. CARL enjoyed this moment of glory but the preacher lost face. "He didn't trust the Lord," cried his flock, "but sent out a child."

CARL declined baptism; he figured that with his competence he didn't need it.

As a boy he read so constantly that he won a reputation for being lazy. One day at age 11 he was supposedly helping the family get in the alfalfa hay ahead of threatening showers, but the air was humid-hot so CARL disappeared. Father found him in the shade of a haystack reading a book 4 inches thick, volume 3 of Redpath's "History of the World." Questioning him, father learned that he had read all three books. "Why did Rome fall?" the stern parent

tested him, switch in hand.

'Because," the frightened lad replied, "the people grew soft and pampered theirselves."
"Work as such was not exactly offensive
to him," his sister Sallie recalled a short time ago, "but Carl was expert at avoiding it. At age 12 he'd stand on the sink and recite the Preamble to the Constitution while

Mary and I did the supper dishes. He was supposed to help us, but he spoke so entertainingly, with Patrick Henry gestures, that we could only laugh."

What happened? What brought about such a drastic change? Senator Carl Hayden of the 1930's, 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's is renowned for his silence. Senator Hadyen never issues a statement, almost never makes a speech even in the Senate itself. Recently he did have the Senate floor for a moment, and he suddenly interrupted himself, turned his face up to the press gallery and called out to the renowned correspondent for the New York Times: "Young man, can you come here a moment? I want to say something."

The scholarly writer, himself middle aged and as sedate and dignified as his paper, all but fell over his feet hastening down. Obviously he had a rare scoop, some world-shaking announcement, no doubt. The other reporters could only watch with envy.

The Senator was indeed serious minded. Said he to the eager Times correspondent, "Young man, I like your newspaper. Please make sure that I get a copy of it every day."

That was all.

You'd think a man so unique and powerful would be etched on every Washingtonian's memory. But not so. A short time ago 5 veteran newspaper correspondents there were given 90 seconds in which to name 10 U.S. Only one included CARL HAYDEN. Senators. No matter how much oratory he showed his sisters from the kitchen sink, he shows none of it in Washington. But it wasn't always that way. When he first went there, a tall ex-sheriff in a cowboy hat, he was impressed with himself as Representative from a brandnew State. He leaped at the first opportunity to make a speech. "It was notable," a colleague said, "for its longevity and vacuity." But at the end of it that colleague, Representative Fred C. Talbott, of Baltimore, an ex-Confederate private, took young CARL by the arm and walked him down the hallway.

"All right now, son," the older man began ntly, "you just had to say it, and say it you gently. But remember, that speech will always be in the Congressional Record. In time you will want to change it, but you can't. There are two kinds of Congressmen, CARLshow horses and work horses. One will get your name and picture in the papers. The other will get you votes plus the respect of your colleagues." CARL HAYDEN never from that moment let oratory tempt him again.

Mothers have always been wonderful, of course. Carl Hayden's may have been exceptionally so. In 1887 she beheld her small son reading deep books and making good speeches, noted especially his consuming interest in history, which holds to this day. So with rare prescience she nicknamed him "The Senator," and often introduced the

10-year-old son by that name.
"Some day," she would say proudly, "he will be the greatest man in the U.S. Senate."

She was right.

Young Carl learned to speak Spanish fluently by playing with Mexican children. At

age 14 he went sightseeing to Mexico City, Women friends of his parents were indignant. But, ruled his dad, "If he can't take care of himself at this age, it's high time he was learning." That same year he also rode horseback 250 miles to the Grand Canyon, down the dangerous trail to the bottom, and back to his farm home in When Chicago opened its first great world's fair in 1893. he went there alone. His father encouraged every such endeavor.

High school years began an accelerated life for the farm boy. This included much courting, his sister Sallie recently recalled. "His main pal then," said she, "was Abner Wade, and for the two of them CARL wrote poetry to send to girls. Some of it was very sweet.

Handsome Carl-period photos show him to be striking indeed-went for a while to the Tempe Normal, now ASU, which his father had founded. (In 1957 ASU presented CARL a citation calling him its most distinguished alumnus.)

Then he went to Stanford University to study economics. One day there he saw, "the most beautiful girl who ever lived"—his -crossing the quadrangle there. He followed her in a state of happy hypnosis. She was Nan Downing, a student of English literature. They were married in 1908, and she stayed at his side, almost literally, until her death a short time ago. Her pet name for him was "Bugs.

At this stage he was tall and proud in a stiff collar 4 inches high, a middle-of-theroad hair part, and a sultry lady killer gleam in his eyes. These and other collegiate qualifications enabled him to be elected president of the sophomore class in Stanford. Then in 1899 he was candidate for the student

body presidency there.

The first plunge into politics seemed to enthrall him. He studied vote-getting techniqus with thoroughness, discovered that misrepresentation, foolish promises, bombastic tactics, all in the end withered before straightforward simplicity and truth. So, he turned quiet and dignified. Unfortunately, he also turned lazy. His two opponents for the presidency were nice chaps named Coverly and Diggles, and he easily named Coverly and Diggles, eliminated Diggles but a runoff pocessary. "Don't runoff Coverly was necessary. friends," coached the worry CARL. handsome You'll win in a breeze."

CARL agreed. He played it cool, as modern collegians would say; he acted modest. He even told sweetheart Nan not to vote for him but to support the other boy. "He can't win," he confided, "and it might be unseemingly for you and me to vote for me, so we must vote for my opponent."

That is just about the only political mistake CARL HAYDEN ever made. Certainly it is the only election he ever lost. He went on to become the greatest U.S. Senator of this century, but back at Stanford he was deflated as few young men ever are

He lost that campus presidency by just two votes.

By 1912 when Arizona became a State, HAYDEN had achieved enough stature to become her first Congressman at large. has been serving under the Capitol dome ever since, but his first few days as a lawmaker were nectic. On the train to Washington at noon February 14, 1912, a portly man came to shake hands with the new statesman from Arizona. "I am William Jennings Bryan," said he. "I want to wish you well."

"He was kind enough to talk with me for an hour and a half," Mr. HAYDEN recalls. "And he coached me on being a Congressman. Told me not to make any Fourth of July speeches, because everybody goes and nobody listens. He was right."

Being from a new state, he naturally attracted newspaper reporters; besides which he was as tall as a giant cactus and wore the 10-gallon hat of a cowboy. They interviewed him, and he answered in monosylla-

bles with a bobbing Adam's apple. One particularly astute newsman said, in a Press Club talk, "Hayden was all right as a frontier sheriff, but he'll never amount to a damn in Freshman HAYDEN heard of that Congress." remark, and was inclined to agree.

Exactly how much he has amounted to, depends some on the point of view. A few Republicans feel that he had best been shot by the Woodson brothers who robbed the train, for time and again he has scorched pet bills they wanted to use in raiding the U.S. Treasury or some such. But virtually all Democrats revere him, and all latter-day Republicans as well. And how about our own Arizona Republican Senator? Well sir, BARRY GOLDWATER himself said on the Senate CARL HAYDEN'S popularity oversteps floor. support He has universal among members of both parties. He is not looked upon as a Democratic Senator, but as one of whom all Arizona is justly proud." This is entirely true.

During those first few months in Washington, Carl made friends with a young clerk in the Department of Justice. The clerk seemed unimpressive, even shy, but both men needed friendship then. The clerk's name was about as ordinary as CARL HAYDEN'S. It was Ed Hoover. And because CARL had been a sheriff, they naturally talked shop. said that he had used the old Bertillon (body measurement) method of identifying criminals. Ed thought it should be replaced by the more modern fingerprint system, and Carl agreed. Nobody else seemed much interested. But on July 1, 1924, friend Ed got a break; he was appointed chief of the FBI, and rushed to Carl with this exciting news. Carl forthwith pushed a bill through Congress, appropriating the then mountainous sum of \$56,230 to start our nation's truly important fingerprint system. The two men are still pals.

From the lower house, CARL moved to the Senate in the election of 1926. He had already been seasoned; he pitched in anew as a dedicated man. Since then few bills of importance to Arizona, or to America, have escaped his touch. Many have had his direct but often unseen personal guidance. He has always been skilled at getting a thing accomplished while avoiding any publicity or prominence concerning mining, agriculture, irrigation. Federal highway paving, reclama-"Ours is a mobile civilization," says he. We live on wheels. We must have good highways just as we must have good homes." Wherefore much of the vast Federal road building program under way today is the

brain child of CARL HAYDEN.

His avoidance of the limelight has become so pronounced as to become a limelight it-. He perfected his hideout technique while a Congressman at Large. The 1917 Draft Act was critically needed. Representative Kahn was struggling with it, but couldn't get the emergency measure through Congress, so he asked HAYDEN'S counsel. HAYDEN, an avid student of history, especially of the War Between the States, copied the old Confederate Draft Act, updated it, changed the names and gave that to Kahn, who promptly put it through to law.

There are countless such instances of his working behind the scenes. An important one began when an obscure haberdasher from Missouri turned up in Washington as Senator. Unfortunately, this one was dubbed a "tool of the Pendergasts", and some spelled that first word with an "f" instead of a "t". He was so suspect that almost no Member of the Senate would even speak to him. The newcomer, hypersensitive anyway, felt their unfriendliness so much that he even considered resigning.

But one day he was walking through the capitol when a tall stranger approached him smiling, shook hands and said, "Good morning, Senator Truman, and welcome to Washington. If I can do anything for you here, just let me know. I'm HAYDEN from Ari-

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zona, an old timer." The freshman latched onto CARL as a true friend in need.

In due time the bill to create a War Investigating Committee was introduced by Bennett Champ Clark, a Missouri colleague of Senator Harry Truman. This committee, they all knew, was destined to be of great importance. And by long-established tradition the man who introduced the bill would automatically be its chairman. But this was unthinkable here; to the rest of the Senator Members Mr. Clark was—as one paper politicly phrased it—"somewhat less than popular." Yet how could they seal him

In desperation they turned to their dean for advice, and he came up with a shrewd suggestion, "Simply have Harry Truman introduce an identical bill," counseled Mr. HAYDEN. "Then we'll have a choice of two men to make committee chairman."

They were elated; even Alben Barkley, the great unoffending politician, quietly endorsed this maneuver. It was seen through. Truman became chairman, thereby acquiring the national prominence which, with dramatic help from fate, shot him into the White House itself. But for Carl Hayden, he might have remained relatively unknown.

Truman never forgot that boost. Whatever his enemies may say against him—and this is considerable—he is a man of gratitude. As candidate for Vice President in 1944 he called Hayden to him. "Carl," he said, "when I was new in the Senate everybody was mean to me except you. Time and again you gave me a shove upward. I owe you a favor. Now you are running for reelection, so I'd like to go out to Arizona and make a speech in your behalf." He did so, and Hayden was reelected with votes to spare.

Now in 1962, of course, another ex-Senator who is President, has flown to Arizona to "make a speech in HAYDEN's behalf," because HAYDEN once again is running for relection. And while this is not the moment to reveal the background facts on our current President, it is true that he too was befriended by a mild, wrinkled, aging, but smilling and generous senior Senator in the Senate halls.

Many Senators feel that their name on any bill is important, that it is a lasting monument. Hayden seeks only to get the legislation through regardless of credit or publicity. For years one prominent but inefficient Senator introduced two bills, without success. His own prestige regarding them had sunk to zero. But the time came when they were vital to the country, and the president quietly asked Hayden to "look into them." Hayden personally revised them, had two powerful men from other States sponsor them, spoke to certain other key colleagues and got both bills passed—with the new sponsors credited. That broke the original sponsor's heart, but did get the needed legislation.

The only flaw in such parliamentary tecniques is that feelings are sensitive. On such occasions, Mr. Hayden is unhappy for days. He goes out of his way to reestablish friendship and good will with the disappointed one. He does not apologize; he explains, quietly and earnestly. His gentle spirit is hurt most when he has unavoidably hurt someone else. "It is virtually impossible," says one prominent Republican, "to stay mad at Carl Hayden, even when he has whipped you to a frazzle."

He is meticulous at keeping promises. Some years ago he had agreed to support Pat Harrison for Senate Majority Leader. Shortly after that, President Franklin Roosevelt wrote his famous "Dear Alben" letter indicating his preference. Carl and Alben were close personal friends, and on caucus election day Carl was in a hospital with a chest cold. Thus he had every opportunity to evade keeping a promise. But he ordered

an ambulance and had himself hauled to the meeting just so he could vote for Harrison.

President Calvin Coolidge, a Republican, nicknamed Hayden "the Desert Fox." And thereby hangs yet another tale, wholly true. In 1926 Arizona wanted the San Carlos Project Act, so Hayden fought hard for it. It would build a new dam and open vast new irrigation acres in Arizona. Nevertheless, Hayden and his colleagues knew that Mr. Coolidge was economy minded; almost certainly he would veto the act. How could they possibly prevent his doing so—they asked one another, during a long evening session. At midnight Carl Hayden said he thought it could be arranged.

Next morning "the Desert Fox" rounded up another distinguished Arizona Senator, Henry Fountain Ashurst, and with him called at the White House. Mr. Coolidge, shrewd New Englander that he was, instantly sensed something important. But before the Chief Executive could get in a word beyond the cordial greeting, HAYDEN had begun.

"Mr. President," said he earnestly, "the great new dam in Arizona will be the largest multiple-arch dam in the world. Thus it will be a thing of rare beauty, destined to impress all who see it forever. It will be in a Biblical setting of scenic grandeur. Nowhere will there be anything like it. The people of Arizona, sir, want to name it in your honor. Have we permission to call it Coolidge Dam?"

Cal beamed like an Arizona sunrise—and signed the bill.

HAYDEN has been friends with every President since 1912. He does not fraternize with them as many Congressmen seek to do. In HAYDEN'S case, they court him. Woodrow Wilson frequently asked his counsel. Cabinet members seek him out. The people who run America, in short, feel that his guidance is invaluable. This has held for decades.

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"'Yes, now let me explain that,' said Mr. HAYDEN. And darned if he didn't tell me all that I had learned and a whole lot more. He personally digs out facts on every phase of American life, and he has an amazing memory."

In electioneering, he has one infallible pattern; he ignores the existence of opponents, and talks to people about what they need and want. If he doesn't think they should have it, that it wouldn't be good for Arizona or the Nation, he tells them why and says, "I won't support it."

Arizona's big interests used to try pressuring him. In one case a utility company had each of its thousands of employees write him a letter threatening to vote against him unless he supported a bill the company favored. Mr. Hayden studied the matter, wrote back a short summary of his reasons for opposing it, and said he would not change. That year his vote plurality was the highest ever.

the highest ever.

Another year he locked horns with the world champion Governor, George W. P. Hunt, who served Arizona seven terms. Nobody, period, could buck George Hunt. And so Mr. Hunt ordered Hayden not to run for the Senate, because he himself wanted the Washington Job. Hayden went directly to Hunt's office.

"George," said he, "I got your orders. But I'll run against you and I'll beat the pants off you."

Hunt was just astute enough to realize that was true, and so did not run. Hunt tried many other political gambits to get HAYDEN. They always backfired. So has many a lesser politician tried to outwit or outgain HAYDEN with nothing but failure.

Indeed he had approached political impregnability as early as 1916. For in that year a wall came from the opposition Republican Party via the weekly Tombstone Prospector:

"We wish the Arizona Republicans would sometimes nominate a man for Congress who could start the perspiration on Carl Hayden. Nothing they have produced has yet even made him break into a trot."

That still holds.

Mr. HOLLAND and Mr. CARLSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HICKEY in the chair). The Chair recognizes the Senator from Florida.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I believe the Chair has been recognizing Senators from opposite sides of the aisle alternately. I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Carlson], who has also sought recognition.

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I appreciate very much the courtesy and the generosity of the Senator from Florida. It was not necessary that I speak at this moment.

Calvin Coolidge once said, "A man is not honored for what he receives but for what he gives."

Our distinguished colleague Carl Hay-DEN has given 50 years of devoted and dedicated service to his Nation and to his State. When I came to the Senate as a junior Member of this body, I met and visited with the distinguished Senator from Arizona. I have always appreciated his kindness and willingness to give advice to a junior Senator. I shall never forget his kindnesses to me on many occasions. His service in this body has given stature and dignity to it. When I receive distinguished guests from various sections of the Nation, particularly from Kansas, I like to point out to them the Member of this body whom we honor today. I do so with a feeling that Senator HAYDEN truly represents a Senator to whom we like to look and as one who has served with honor and dignity. He is truly a patriot. We like to look up to him. I know that the people of our Nation look up to him. So today I did not want this opportunity to pass without expressing my personal appreciation to him. I also wish him many years of continued service in this body, because we need men of his ability and service.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, today we are here to pay our several respects to the real nestor of the U.S. Senate, whose wisdom, patriotism, and courage Senators on both sides of the aisle wish to honor.

Aside from our desire to show our affection for him and our appreciation of him, it seems to me that if anyone who has ever served in this great institution has had good cause while he is still serving here to be happy over his service, it would be CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona.

He came here 50 years ago today from a State so sparsely inhabited that there had to be two filibusters before Arizona could be separately admitted as a State at the same time that New Mexico came in separately.

Senator HAYDEN came here from the most populous county in that State, of which he was sheriff. It was a State which was better known at that time for its Indian wars, for the hair-raising Tombstone happenings, than it was for any other values. It must be a matter of great pleasure and gratification to him to see the remarkable growth and development of that State, in which he has had a larger part than has any other citizen of Arizona or of our country. His State has multiplied more than seven times in population in these 50 years. The sparse areas that were desertland at that time are now fed with water from its various rivers, small or great, because of structures that he helped to place there. The great hydroelectric power values which were created by the erection of huge dams, largely through his effort and support, have contributed greatly to the advancement of that State, and as he has helped the State of Arizona in its advancement, he has helped every other part of the Nation.

I think it should be made a matter of record today, if such has not already been done, that as a member of the committee of the other body which was handling the subject at that time, one of his first duties was to visit the Panaman Canal site in the early days of that effort and to follow through in its construction. He made a very real contribution to the building of the Panama Canal.

Later Senator Hayden made a very great contribution to the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway. I was unhappy that he could not be present for the dedication of that great seaway.

He has made enormous contributions to the development of navigation from one end of the country to the other, both on the sea coasts and on the great rivers and lakes, and to the protection of great areas of our country from floods. He has helped in bringing life-giving water to other equally great areas which could not have grown and prospered but for the service which he has typified, which has brought in waters to turn arid lands into fertile producing gardens. Senator Hayden must have the greatest degree of pride and pleasure as he sees what he has helped so effectively to accomplish.

Mr. President, there are three things that I should like to comment upon very briefly. One is his contribution to the development of this country, which I have touched upon already, and on which I could only touch. I have not commented on his leadership in creating the Federal-aid highway system, or upon the Hayden-Cartwright Act, which is one of the great keystones of that highway system. In every form of communication and transportation he has rendered great service in aiding the development of this country.

The second thing I wish to comment on is his service on the Appropriations Committee. That committee consists of 27 Senators. It is almost twice as big as any other standing committee of the Senate. It is sometimes said that it is a very unruly committee, one which even a former sheriff of Arizona would be expected to find trouble dealing with. Instead, with gentleness Senator Hayden keeps order and complete organizational activity underway at all times. I have been amazed no end by his detailed knowledge of activities all over our farflung Nation, which are completely beyond his observation, but about which he shows just as much interest and just as much appreciation as if they touched the people of his State of Arizona.

The third thing I wish to mention is his ability to "take it." He has more stamina than almost any other man in the Senate. I remember two occasions which illustrate that fact. One of them was the all-night session that lasted until 8:30 in the morning, in July 1960, when we debated and passed the bill to cut out the Cuban sugar purchases. There were several rollcall votes during the course of that night. One rollcall shows 44 Senators absent on that vote; 43 Senators were absent on another vote; and 41 Senators absent on still another vote; but on each one of those votes Senator HAYDEN was in his place voting to give what he believed was necessary power for the President to deal with that critical situation.

I wish to call attention to one other incident. It deals with the adoption of the conference report on the supplemental appropriation bill, which involved arguments that lasted all during the night on the last night of our 1961 session. The Senator from Arizona was present in the Chamber every minute during that argument. I believe only two other members of the Appropriations Committee on this side of the aisle were here for the conclusion of that long and sometimes vigorous argument.

Senator HAYDEN never runs away from a duty. He is ever ready to stand up for the best interests of his State and the Nation.

It will always be an inspiration to me that I have been able to serve for some years now on that committee over which he presides with such dignity, patience, and skill, and with such detailed understanding of the farflung interests of this great Nation.

I join other Senators in wishing Carl Hayden many added years of service here which I know will be of added great service to our Nation as a whole.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I do not know how best to express my own feelings of high respect to our beloved colleague from Arizona, CARL HAYDEN.

On this occasion, it is rather moving and intriguing for me to realize that during almost all the days of my life, this Chamber and the House of Representatives have been graced by the presence of a very great man, a very humble man, one who has demonstrated his marked courage and his capacity for public service over the last half century.

I recall with interest the anecdote which Time magazine referred to about Senator HAYDEN. It occurred when Carl HAYDEN was sheriff of Maricopa County in Arizona. It seems that some Indians of a trip out there were practicing polygamy. Sheriff HAYDEN called upon one of the Indian chiefs who was guilty of that practice. He said to the chief.

"This is against the American law. It must stop." He said, "You tell your wives that you can only have one of them remain with you."

A period of silence ensued, and then the chief answered, "Sheriff HAYDEN, you tell them."

At that juncture Sheriff Hayden returned to his office in the Maricopa County sheriff's office.

I shall be eternally grateful for the friendship that Senator Hayden has given to me during the 10 years when it has been my privilege to serve with him in the Senate. I shall be grateful, too, for all his assistance.

I can speak as a neighbor. I come from California. Not once, but on many, many occasions, the Senator from Arizona has given lavishly of his own counsel and aid to the people of the State which I have the honor in part to represent.

Carl Hayden is fond of his neighbor State. He went to Stanford University. During his long years of service in Congress, he has recognized the many calls which my State and my people have made upon the Congress. One of our colleagues in the Senate referred to his capacity to filibuster. I recall one of the debates in the Senate about which I read, which took place years before I had the opportunity and the honor to come here.

It was a debate which involved California. My late, great, illustrious predecessor, Hiram Johnson, was on the floor fighting valiantly for the construction of the great Hoover Dam, so important to the people of southern California and, in a very real sense, so important to all the people of my State. The distinguished Senator from Arizona felt that some amendments should be written into the bill. It was on that occasion, when Senator Johnson had, I think, the votes, that Senator HAYDEN and his very great and very able colleague, Senator Ashurst-who lives here in Washington, D.C., now, and for whom all of us have great affection-conducted what could be described as a king-size filibuster. Thev were successful. Finally, I am glad to re-call, the happy last chapter was written. The Hoover Dam authorization bill was adopted in the Senate and went on to become the law of the land.

On Saturdays many Senators do not frequent the restaurant provided for our Democratic colleagues and for my Republican brethren over here. Usually I wander over here to the Senate dining room on Saturdays, and there among the few who are present I always find the President pro tempore of the Senate. On many of those occasions I listen with real glee to the recollections and reminiscences which he brings to us. I listen to his lucid, careful, and searching discussion of the problems which are pending in the Senate.

It has been said by one of my senior colleagues that Carl Hayden is a Senator's Senator. That is true. Carl Hayden in his responsibilities as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations has assumed a burden in the farflung field of intelligence and its operations which is unique among all the Members of the

Senate. It is the senior Senator from Arizona, among a very few in this body, who knows the policies which are being carried out in the field of intelligence and who has helped successfully to provide the sinews which that arm of our Government continually and so desperately needs.

So with all the rest of his colleagues, on the occasion of his first half century of service to the Nation in both Houses of the U.S. Congress, I too, rise to say: Good luck and godspeed for many years of additional happy and constructive service to all the people.

Mr. McNamara. Mr. President, I wish to share in the deserved tributes which are being paid our colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona. While I have not been a Member of the Senate so long as many other Senators who are speaking so eloquently today, nevertheless in the short time I have been here I have enjoyed the friendship, counsel, and advice which Senator Hayden has given so freely at all times.

Mr. President, although he and his beloved wife were not blessed with children, Carl Hayden could accurately be called the father of many vital projects of benefit to the United States.

He certainly deserves the title, "Father of the United States Highway System," for his pioneering work toward better roads. Early in the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Carl Hayden recognized that road construction was one way to get thousands of unemployed men to work quickly. He knew that each State had a highway department, and that each department laid its plans for a year ahead. So he persuaded President Roosevelt to send Federal aid to the States quickly, to alleviate unemployment.

At the same time, Carl Hayden was advancing one of the projects dear to his heart providing better highways so that people could get to the scenic beauties of his State.

Now we are well underway with the greatest roadbuilding program ever undertaken by any nation. That program would not exist without the foresight and the persuasive abilities of our distinguished friend and colleague, Carl Hayden, of Arizona, whom we are honoring today for his 50 years of service to the United States.

I wish him continued good health and hope that for many years to come he will be with us in this great body which he enjoys so much and to which he has contributed so greatly.

Mr. MORTON. Mr. President, for all but about 4½ years of my life, the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona, Carl Hayden, has served in the Congress of the United States. During this half century, our history has indeed been enriched. Our Nation has met many challenges, including two World Wars, the Korean war, and the worst depression in the Nation's history.

Senator Hayden, as a leader in this body, has contributed to the wonderful response by the American people, under our system of government, to meet the challenges presented in those moments of crisis.

I feel very humble, indeed, as one who has served in Washington for less than one-third of Senator Hayden's tenure, and who has served in this body for only about one-tenth the length of his service in Congress. I am happy to join with other Senators in extending my own tribute to this great American, who has so well and nobly served his country and his State. I, too, wish him well, and I take this occasion to thank him for making this land of ours a better place in which to live.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with other Senators in saluting the senior Senator from Arizona, Carl Hayden, upon his completion of 50 years of distinguished public service in the Congress. No one else has ever served his country so long as a Member of Congress as has Senator Hayden. No one else has ever represented his State for so many years in Congress.

I can point with pride to the fact that it was a Virginian, a Representative from my own district, who sponsored the resolution to admit Arizona as a State. His name was Henry D. Flood, who for 20 years so ably represented the 10th Congressional District of Virginia in the House. Incidentally, Representative Flood was an uncle of the distinguished senior Senator from Virginia, Harry Flood Byrd.

Senator Hayden's tour of duty in Washington has indeed been unique. Starting under the administration of President Taft, he then served during the administrations of Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and now Kennedy. Carl Hayden's congressional experience spans more than one-fourth of the history of our Republic.

I understand that Senator Hayden's term as a public servant stretches back even further than the 5 years he served as sheriff of Maricopa County, Ariz., before coming to Washington.

Today Carl Hayden is well known as a former law enforcement officer, soldier, and Congressman, and as the present chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. He is still more famed as a statesman who helped to bring water and life to a vast arid region of our country. Being a persistent champion of transportation, power, and reclamation projects—including what is now called Hoover Dam—Carl Hayden has greatly contributed toward transforming our deserts into gardens. It is no accident that Arizona has long been among the fastest growing States in the Nation.

Since 1947, the junior Senator from Virginia has been fortunate to serve as a member of the Committee on Appropriations along with the senior Senator from Arizona. During these 15 years, I have benefited on numerous occasions from Senator Hayden's insight and assistance. I have repeatedly come to recognize the appropriateness of a tribute once paid to Senator Hayden by Carter Glass, the Senator from Virginia whom I had the honor of succeeding.

Senator Glass was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations at the time of his death in 1946, and had been President pro tempore of the Senate for nearly 4 years. Of his 27 years in the

Senate, Carter Glass served nearly two decades on the same committee with Senator Hayden. As I have recalled to the Senate several times before, it was this association that led Senator Glass to remark that if the Constitution were ever amended so that every State could have three Senators, he hoped that his own State of Virginia could have Carl Hayden as the third.

In writing about the Upper Chamber in his recent book, "Citadel," William S. White said:

HAYDEN could very nearly be the president of the club, if only it had officers.

That was an understatement. Carl Hayden has already held such an office for more than 5 years. Beginning in 1957, as we all know, he has been elected and has served as President pro tempore for three consecutive Congresses. Not only is he president of what Mr. White calls the club, as President pro tempore of the Senate, Carl Hayden is third in order of succession to the Presidency of the United States.

Over the years, it has been a privilege for me to come to know Carl Hayden and to work with him. I salute him again at this time—the beginning of his 51st year in Congress. I look forward to many more years of leadership by the senior Senator from Arizona.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Carl Hayden, the senior Senator from Arizona, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of his congressional service to his State and to his Nation.

Others have spoken about the monuments in Arizona and elsewhere in the Nation that bespeak the character of the service Senator HAYDEN has rendered to the people. Those monuments are to be found in the buildings, highways, irrigation projects, and other material contributions he has made.

However, Mr. President, instead of speaking of the material contributions he has made, I wish to speak of the unique characteristics of this great man, for I have carefully watched him and listened to him during the 5½ years that I have served in this body.

Frequently, when trying to determine what should be our course of conduct in order best to serve our country in times of crisis, we study history. In Senator Hayden we find one who reflects 50 years of experience—50 years of reaction to crises and periods of triumph—and on the basis of that experience we learn from him what should be our course and our attitude in relation to significant problems.

Mr. President, fidelity to the country and its people is undoubtedly one of Senator Hayden's great attributes. Orderliness of thinking is another of his outstanding traits. Yesterday, while I was in Cleveland, I listened to a radio and television interview which a commentator had with Senator Hayden. My brothers and my sisters also were listening to that interview; and when it concluded, they said that Senator Hayden exhibited outstanding and most refreshing clearness of thinking, objectivity, and fairness.

Integrity is another of Senator Hayden's attributes. In my contacts with him I have found that whenever I have requested consideration of problems in my State, Senator Hayden has been most considerate. Although he has served Arizona well, instead of thinking only of Arizona, he has also considered the other parts of the country to be benefited by the programs he has advocated.

Certainly one of Carl Hayden's greatest qualities is his calmness of attitude. I have never seen him grow excited on the floor of the Senate. When controversies have become keen and when acrimony has developed on both sides of the aisle, Senator Hayden has always remained ealm—a quality so greatly needed at all times.

A few moments ago the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Morton] spoke of the fact that Senator HAYDEN has served for 50 years in Congress. Mr. President, Senator HAYDEN was serving in Congress when the grief of World War I descended on the people of the United States; and he was serving in Congress when the triumph, with all of its joys, came. Senator HAYDEN was serving in Congress during the prosperity of the 1920's and also during the depression of the thirties; and he also witnessed what was probably the darkest day in the history of our country—the day when the Japanese bombs began to fall on the Hawaiian Islands. I am certain that no one has known our Nation's depths of trouble and also her heights of triumph as intimately as has Senator Hayden.

It seems to me that the message Senator Hayden would bring to us is this: When things grow black, remain calm. Be loyal to your country, and be prepared to give; but, above all else, do not become hysterical."

Mr. President, almost daily we find that hysteria grips many persons when untoward developments occur in the world. In that connection we can always learn from Senator Hayden the great lesson that although there have been many dark days, the skies have always cleared.

Shakespeare wrote of the young prince who was about to ascend the throne:

The time is out of joint: O cursed spite, That ever I was born to set it right.

Mr. President, the times have always been out of joint; but we have found that a benign hand rules the destiny of men, and in the end things work out well.

Again in the play "Hamlet," Shake-speare wrote:

This above all: To thine own self be true. And it must follow, as the night the day, Thou canst not then be false to any man.

Mr. President, I think those words are most applicable to Senator Hayden: He has been true to his own self; and yet, as certain as the night follows the day, he has been true to all his fellow men.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I wish to join those who today honor one of the great Senators of all time, Carl Hayden, of Arizona.

It has been Senator HAYDEN'S privilege to represent his State in the Congress ever since the day when the Arizona Territory became a State. However, Mr. President, he has been much more than a Senator from the State of Arizona: He has been a Senator for the entire country. We have found that Carl Hayden always has at heart the interest of all the States. I have never known him to discriminate against any State because of party or for any other reason.

So, Mr. President, I would feel remiss in the performance of my duty if today I did not state that Senator Carl Hayden is a monumental credit to the State of Arizona and to the entire Nation.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I wish to join in the remarks made today in tribute to Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona.

Mr. President, seldom in the life of our Nation does the grand opportunity of commending a colleague for 50 years of service in the Congress ever present itself.

The public service record of Carl Hay-DEN goes back to the frontier days of our Nation, before the Territory of Arizona even became a State in 1912. The fact that he has represented Arizona in the U.S. Congress ever since she became the 48th State is a great testimonial. The confidence and respect of the people of Arizona in this man demonstrate wise judgment on their part.

CARL HAYDEN today is a guiding hand in the affairs of our Government, and there have been few Members of the Congress in recent decades who have not, at one time or another, sought his advice, his counsel, or his support.

CARL HAYDEN has been active in Democratic Party affairs practically all of his life, and was first named to the Democratic National Convention back in 1904, the same year he was elected treasurer, and 2 years before he became sheriff of Maricopa County. After he was elected to the 62d Congress as a Member of the House of Representatives in 1912, he was reelected to the House for seven succeeding Congresses, until 1926, when he came to the Senate.

I welcome the privilege to congratulate this fine, longstanding servant of the people on the golden anniversary of his election to the Congress.

Our Nation can well be proud of Carl Hayden, for his service over the past half century has helped to guide our Nation through probably the most turbulent period of history to its present position of greatness.

Every Member of the Congress today realizes what he has meant to this Nation of ours.

I ask unanimous consent that there be published in the Record following my remarks an editorial from the Arizona Daily Star of Thursday, November 16, 1961, entitled "Distinguished Career Brings Honors."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DISTINGUISHED CAREER BRINGS HONORS

Carl Hayden, who has served longer in the U.S. Congress than any other man, deserves every honor which his friends from President Kennedy down will bestow upon him tomorrow night. By his record, Senator HAYDEN has brought more honors to his own State than his State could give to him.

The nonpartisan, friendly nature of the dinner for Senator HAYDEN in Phoenix is evident in the fact that Friday will be Hayden Day in Arizona, proclaimed by Republican Gov. Paul Fannin.

The fact that the dinner is a sellout at \$100 a plate indicates the esteem Arizonians place on Senator HAYDEN.

CARL HAYDEN was born of pioneer parentage (and is himself a pioneer by every standard) on October 2, 1877, at Tempe—then known as Hayden's Crossing, because the Hayden flour mill was built there at the spot where early settlers crossed the Salt River.

HAYDEN was educated in Arizona public schools and the then normal school at Tempe, now Arizona State. He went from Tempe to Stanford University, where he had an active career—in some ways, his friends like to recall, a little too active sometimes for authorities. In other words, he was a red-blooded collegian capable of joining in pranks.

When he returned to Arizona he went into business. He follows his family's occupation of milling and mercantiling from 1900 to 1904. In 1904 he entered politics as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in St. Louis that nominated Judge Alton Parker for the Presidency. In 1904, also, HAYDEN ran for Maricopa County treasurer and won, taking office on January 1, 1905.

In 1907, he became sheriff of Maricopa County. Probably few who see the Arizonian in his distinguished senatorial role as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, realize they are looking at a genuine oldtime western sheriff.

He ran in the fall elections of 1911—Arizona's first experience at naming officers to serve on the Territory's becoming a State—and, with statehood, entered Congress. He took the oath as this State's first and lone, Representative in February 19, 1912, 5 days after statehood. Until April 1912, he was the only Arizonian in either House of Congress

During World War I he served as a major of the infantry.

In 1926 he decided to seek a senatorial seat. He entered the Senate on March 4, 1927, and has served there since. In addition to his Appropriations Committee chairmanship, which gives him vast powers, Hayden is chairman of the Joint House-Senate Committee on Printing and is second in command of the House Rules and Administration Committee.

tion Committee.

More than Hayden's record in the minds of many Arizonians is his warm and human approach to the people of his State—all of the time keeping a good eye out for the welfare of the Nation. Only in recent years has Hayden been featured very often by the newspapers and magazines of the East, because of his preference for never making speeches and working as quietly as possible. But about 10 years ago the East awoke to the fact that this kindly, quiet Arizonian was having a tremendous amount to do with the Nation's business both at home and abroad.

He deserves being honored by his home State. He has served it well.

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I am happy to be here today joining in the accolade of approval, respect, and admiration for the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona. I recall very well, after my election to the Senate in 1952, when I immediately came here because I was elected to fill an unexpired term, that Senator I met. I met him on the plaza outside as I was walking to the office building. Recognizing him, I stopped and introduced myself.

We leaned against a tree or lamppost and chatted for 20 minutes. I remember the Senator gave me some homely and friendly advice, containing many details concerning the Senate, one's offices, and various little details that a new man would hardly think of.

It is this very delightful capacity for friendship which I first learned about him on that day. I have regarded him with increasing admiration in the past 10 years. Of course, it is a most remarkable event that no one has attained 50 years of service in the Congress until this day, but what is even more remarkable is the work done today by this man, who now is virtually at the peak of his powers. He presides over the great Appropriations Committee with ease, grace, and dignity, and is fully effective in every respect.

So I join with Senators who admire this great Senator, and I hope we may live to see him here many years in the future.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, I count it a real privilege to be here today to join in celebrating this, the 50th anniversary of service in the Congress of the United States of a great man, Carl Hayden, of Arizona.

Mr. President, this golden anniversary would be noted under any circumstances, because no other Member of Congress in the history of our Nation has served continuously, or at all, for a full half century. It seems almost incredible. It also seems wonderful in every way. Some of us in the Senate who long since have concluded we were in "the sere and yellow" were only small boys when Senator Hayden came out of the West to assume his seat in the House of Representatives. And others, of course, were not yet born.

However, this occasion could well be a pro forma anniversary observance if the man now being praised and saluted had merely demonstrated an ability to live and to be returned to Congress by the voters of his beloved State, Arizona. That it is far, far more is what counts. What we are actually noting here is a half century of distinguished service in behalf of his State, the entire West, the Nation, and, indeed, the world by this man who possesses such unusual abilities. I dare say that if Members of Congress were to be ranked in importance by the number of words uttered, the senior Senator from Arizona would be close to or at the bottom of the list. He does not require words to speak for him. His actions do that and most eloquently. His comprehension, his instinct for separating the important from the less important, his devotion to his country his leadership qualities, his great influence-all these, and other virtues, go to make up the fine human being, the outstanding American that CARL HAYDEN

Many, many times during my period of service here I have had reason to thank Senator Hayden for his his powerful assistance in behalf of Alaska, first as a territory and more recently as a State. I have found him, too, a hard man to thank. He is so very unassuming, so very modest, that it is his habit

to denigrate his own achievements and to seek to deny that the helping hand which was given was his.

I would wish, in company with millions of other Americans, for Carl Hayden continued years of service. His State needs him. So does the Nation. Now and always he will be a young man—young in willingness to examine and adopt new ideas, young in heart, young in spirit, questing always for progress, development, and improvement. He rode out of the West—and happily for all of us, Carl Hayden did not ride away again.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, from the page of Time magazine the handsome sheriff of Maricopa County, Ariz., of 50 years ago, looked out at me, and by his side gazed at me, too, my colleague as of today, the hearty senior Senator from Arizona.

Half a century separates those pictures, but, of course, the subject is one and the same—the endearing, endurable Carl Hayden. Four years ago we of the Senate met on this floor in a tender tribute to the gentleman from Arizona when he had achieved the longest continuous service in the Congress of the United States of any man in history.

The superlatives of that day were sincere. What could we add to the accolades? And yet the 4 years that intervened have each added something to the appreciation and affection we have for this quiet statesman, gifted legislator, and helpful friend.

New England likes to restate its claim to Carl Hayden—or at least to his father. It was a long haul a century ago for the senior Hayden from Hartford, Conn., to Hayden's Ferry, Ariz.

But history wanted it that way. The pioneering Charles Trumbull Hayden was no less the father of Arizona than he was the father of Carl Hayden. It was natural for the father's son to come to the first Congress upon Arizona's admission to statehood February 14, 1912.

Eight years before that he had been at the National Democratic Convention at St. Louis to choose a candidate against the first Roosevelt. In 1932, Carl Hayen, himself was a candidate on the ticket with the second Roosevelt. Already, for almost a score of years, he had served in the Congress. The Democratic resurgence found an experienced legislator in this man of Arizona.

Today, 30 years later, we mark his golden anniversary. We are not the first. Last November, in the city of Phoenix, the great of the land and the grateful of Arizona gathered in tribute to him. From the words of the President to the eloquent silence of his humble neighbors, there was a paean of praise for the past and a petition for the future—to look forward to the second 50 years of Carl Hayden's stewardship.

I could not be present that night in Phoenix, but I would like to borrow again the sentiments that I sent to the occasion. I said:

I am ever so happy that the people of Arizona who know him best and love him most are honoring my boss Carl Hayden on the golden anniversary of his splendid service in the Congress of the United States. Though

I am a continent apart, I will toast that night to the young of heart whose congressional half century has seen our land through its most difficult times. The frontier-fashioned wisdom and experience of CARL HAYDEN served to smooth difficulties and surmount dangers as our country blazed new trails in a world of lightning changes. Those qualities have helped to produce an America infinitely stronger in the sixth decade of the century than CARL HAYDEN surveyed in its first decade. That may be the date of the special dedication of the statesman but he was ever the good citizen and always the good friend. I admit that the good people of Arizona know him best and love him most—but we in the Congress feel ourselves a close second in those sentiments. And we add one more most-we need him most. America has never been in greater need of the made-in-Arizona Americanism of Carl Hayden. We know that the Grand Canyon State of his first and enduring love will continue to share its illustrious son with the other 49 States. We are truly the '49'ers seeking the golden worth and wisdom of CARL HAYDEN.

With all the sincerity of my heart, I repeat those sentiments today.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I wish to pay my respects to the—the dean and President pro tempore of the Senate of the United States, the distinguished CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona.

On this, the golden anniversary of the admission of Arizona as a State and the admission of Senator Hayden to the Congress, I wish to extend my congratulations to both.

I speak as their friend and as a representative of Virginia. We of the Old Dominion hold Senator Hayden, and the fine people of Arizona in the highest esteem and deepest affection.

Virginia, the cradle of the Republic, and one of the oldest States in the Union—as it did in 1912—extends again and constantly her very best wishes to Arizona, one of the newest.

Mr. President, I take a peculiar pride in the State of Arizona. My uncle, Henry Delaware Flood, of Virginia, after whom I am named, was the chairman of the House Committee on the Territories who presented to the House on August 19, 1911, the resolution establishing Arizona as a State.

As third ranking Member of the Senate in point of service, I am pleased at every opportunity to assert my great and lasting admiration for Senator HAYDEN, who ranks first.

As one who has had the high privilege of representing Virginia in the U.S. Senate longer than any other man, I appreciate the distinction of representing a State since its admission.

Certainly no State has been better represented more continuously than Arizona; and surely no State has chosen more wisely than Arizona in electing and reelecting Senator HAYDEN.

He is a man of great work; but what is more, he is a man superior to his works. He seems to act always without effort, but his accomplishments for his State and country are monumental.

Evidence of his matured judgment and constructive powers has marked the work of Congress for 50 years. He has the capacity to foreshadow the future while working for the present.

He has a great faculty for accumulating, analyzing, and producing knowledge; and he has earned the reputation of knowing a little more than most of us about many things.

In the Senate we know Senator Hay-DEN as a man of reserve but not isolation. We know him as a warm personality without egotism. We know him as a man of wisdom, but with indulgence and kindly wit.

Personally, I shall always regard him as a real and splendid man. I love him as a friend and greatly admire him as a

statesman.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I am, of course, delighted to be a colleague and personal friend of Senator Carl Hayden and to pay him tribute today on the 50th anniversary of the beginning of his remarkable congressional career.

When we think of Carl Hayden we think of a symbol of character, integrity, and honor and dedication to the finer purposes in life, as well as a national

legislator.

He has a favored place in history for many reasons. One of the most outstanding reasons is his long and consistent work in the Congress, protecting and promoting and reproducing the natural resources of our Nation. Some years ago I presented him with a gavel made from a tree which was one of several trees found in his State that are believed to be more than 3,000 years old, the oldest living things in the world. When I presented Senator HAYDEN with the gavel, I said then and repeat now, that people of our Nation for untold generations will benefit from his career as a legislator longer than this 3,000year-old tree has lived.

When I first came to the Senate I was told that Senator HAYDEN could get a bill passed here easier than anyone else. The reason given was that everyone trusted him; and his speeches were so short and to the point that one could not make an opposing argument to what

he said

The Senate as well as the rest of the Nation has been blessed by his many years of service here and the happy thought is that there are many more years of service to come.

I am happy, indeed, to be among his friends and admirers in extending him hearty greetings and congratulations on

this special occasion.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I am sure it is an honor and a pleasure for all of us who serve in the Senate today to be present on the occasion of the golden anniversary of service of Carl Hayden in the Congress of the United States. I think it is most significant that his golden anniversary coincides with the golden anniversary of Arizona as a State.

Coming into the Union as it did in 1912, Arizona is not one of the newest States of the Union, and therefore I think it is all the more remarkable that we have in our midst this highly esteemed colleague who has served in the Congress as long as Arizona has been one of the States of the Union.

Very often, in talks I give around the country, I have occasion to refer to that

rare, phenomenal fact as illustrative of the youth and vigor of America. Our country is very young in the calendar of the Mountains and our country is quite new in the family of the major organized countries around the world, yet many, many countries of great antiquity—countries many times older than the United States—have come to look to us for assistance, for guidance, for leadership, and for succor in order to take their proper place in the great fight against communism.

In Carl Hayden we have a man young in spirit and high in vigor, who has been a Member of the Congress during the 50 years in which the United States has moved far out in front in the parade of countries of the world.

I like to refer to that because it seems to me that every patriotic American can get some real inspriation from the fact that ours is a country which can do so much in the lifetime of a living Member of the Senate and which is still so young that one of the esteemed Members of this body came to Congress at the time his State joined the team. This kind of young and successful country must have something in its formula of achievement worth preserving.

I think it is well to reflect upon the fact that within the public service lifetime of Carl Hayden we have made such remarkable progress. That progress ought to emphasize for all of us that America could not do so much in so short a time by doing everything all wrong. Certain ingredient concepts and principles have been espoused and ex-They are emplified by CARL HAYDEN. worthy of our adherence and of perpetuation. The capacity of growth which we have demonstrated in this short era certainly illustrates the vigor and significance of the concepts of America which have made it possible for us to have achieved so much.

Serving, as I do, on the Appropriations Committee, which Carl Hayden so admirably and effectively heads, and serving as the ranking Republican member of the little Subcommittee on Appropriations of the Department of Interior activities, I have spent many long hours sitting side by side with Carl Hayden. Sometimes there have been two and sometimes three or four of us in the committee room. I must confess that on occasion I have been unable to be present, but CARL HAYDEN is always present, listening to the many laborious, informative, and necessary hearings in which the executive departments place before Congress their desires and aspirations, which on occasion far exceed their needs. He sits there and guides the activities of the full Appropriations Committee. He serves full time as chairman of the little subcommittee on which I serve as ranking member. He does so always without partisanship, passion, or prejudice. He does so always with a clear sense of duty and with a capacity for energy and clear thinking which is unexcelled in this

So I have had a long, intimate opportunity to study Senator HAYDEN, to watch him in operation, and to develop

an admiration, which we all have, for this great American.

Last week on Thursday and Friday I was absent from the Senate, as were many other Republican Senators—and I discovered that Democratic Senators also stole away—to visit around the country during Lincoln's Birthday holiday. I spent 2 of those days speaking before public groups in Arizona, particularly in Tucson, Phoenix, Scottsdale, and other places. I suspect that there was a liberal sprinkling of Republicans in most of the audiences which I addressed in Arizona.

I would be less than candid if I did not say that I am happy to report that I found among Republicans, as much as among Democrats, a high regard for this grand man of Arizona. They share the esteem which I, as one who has worked with him intimately, have for him. But they share with the Democrats of Arizona their pride over the fact that they have a great leader who, I am happy to say, at least so far as the senior Senator from South Dakota is concerned, seems to conjure a much more sincere and accurate symbol of the old frontier than he does of the New Frontier, because he came to us from the old frontier.

Somehow, when people in public life come to us from that six-gun-totin' era and area of America, it is pretty hard to make them forget the environment of their youth in the great independent free-thinking, vigorous, don't-want-to-get-pushed-around area that we call the West. He typifies that attitude in the Senate, as he does in the committee on which he serves. He is universally admired and respected by his home folks; and who in the Senate does not consider that point important? I suspect that is one reason why he has been here for 50 years.

I wish Senator Hayden good health, good luck, and continued success for many years in the future.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues who have so eloquently paid tribute to the senior Senator from Arizona. I congratulate him upon the commencement of the second half century of his service. I join with all Senators in wishing for him many years of continued good health, success, and happiness.

I, too, wish to speak about this remarkable man, whom I have observed so closely during the years I have been a Member of the Senate.

He was a veteran when I came here. But I have often watched him handling the appropriation bills on the floor of the Senate. I have appeared before the committee of which he is chairman and testified on many different occasions. I bear out the suggestion offered by the Senator from South Dakota as to his always being present.

Other Senators may have found it necessary to be absent, but Carl Hayden was present at the committee meeting. Not only was he present in person, but he was there with complete control of the facts and information regarding the proposed appropriations.

I was always amazed to observe that, however small the matter that was brought up before his committee, he knew as much about the subject as the one who was testifying, and sometimes actually more.

I have appeared before the Committee on Rules and Administration many times; and again, even when Carl Hayden was not chairman of that committee, he was always present, and again with complete mastery of whatever question was before the committee.

I have had the privilege of talking with Senator HAYDEN many times about conditions as they existed when he entered Congress 50 years ago and about conditions back in Arizona before he ever came to Congress. As the Senator from South Dakota has suggested, I have found him to be a frontiersman of the old days. But he has remained a frontiersman into the new days. Today he has a spirit of youthfulness and willingness to venture and to adventure that must have marked him when he was a young man back in Arizona. He is the leader in many of the best movements that are taking place in the Senate. He occupies a very large place in hearts of all his colleagues in the Senate, all of whom greet him and congratulate him on this his 50th anniversary, and wish him well throughout many more years.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, I wish to join all the other Members of the Senate in paying tribute to Carl Hayden on the anniversary of his 50 years of service in the Congress of the United States. His record is truly remarkable and unmatched in the history of the Congress of the United States.

Carl, as he is always called by his friends and associates, attained this great record because of many fine qualities. He has always been a tireless worker, a true and trusted friend, a square shooter, if I may use that expression, and one of the most able legislators I have ever known. No State ever had a more devoted Representative or Senator in Congress than Arizona in the person of Carl Hayden. No problem Arizona ever had was too big or too small to receive Carl Hayden's personal and able attention.

One of the finest things about Carl Hayden is that he has more personal and admiring friends than anyone else who has ever served in this body. It has been my privilege to serve for 16 years with him on the Appropriations Committee of the Senate, of which Senator Hayden is Chairman. Here, too, he enjoys the esteem of every member. He has been most fair and courteous at all times. May I join with other Members of the Senate in wishing Carl Hayden many more years of good health, happiness, and service in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, time is fleeting. Time is endless. Half a century in the perspective of mankind's journey would appear to be a speck in the spectrum of time. Fifty years in the life of our Nation is a large and an important period. In the life of a man it looms large indeed. For one to be privileged to be an actor for 50 years upon the preeminent immortal stage

called the Senate, is something that has never come to a mortal being. It is something to be achieved by others only a few times, and perhaps not for long or for a long while.

It has been my privilege to serve in Congress with Senator Hayden for almost a quarter of a century. I have observed him closely. He is a man and has always been a Senator of industry and judgment. His record typifies the conviction that a representative of the peoples owes to the people not only industry but also judgment. Lesser men can be industrious; only a wise man can be possessed of sound judgment. Upon occasion only a courageous man in this body can exercise sound judgment.

In this, the greatest of deliberative bodies, the personal equation between Members is a matter of abiding concern, of deep appreciation, and of great meaning. The personal equation which Senator Hayden has maintained with his colleagues is perfect. He is respectful. He is helpful. He will go as far, and has long been willing to go as far as any one—in fact I know of no one who is willing to go further—in helping a colleague than Senator Hayden, to the point of his judgment of what is in the public interest.

Senator Hayden is regarded by all as a helpful colleague. However, all of us know that he can say "No" as emphatically as anyone who has ever served in this body.

Yes, 50 years is a long time. But once again time is fleeting and endless. No man possesses time. He enjoys time for a period. Some men, as they approach the age of Senator HAYDEN, live in the past, become retrospective, closing their mind to the promise not only of the future but even of today. Not so with Senator HAYDEN. There is no Senator who is more concerned with the space program than is the Senator from Arizona. Blessed with the opportunity to serve, he has availed himself of the industry and the judgment that is his, availed himself of the industry and the judgment that is his, availed himself of the friendship of his colleagues, of the information which he could obtain here, and of the action which through his influence and position he could bring about.

Thus here is a man who is a part of the history of our country, an important part of an important period in the history of our country, a Member of the Congress for 50 years, and just as concerned about the next 50 years, and setting an example which those of us who are younger would be well to emulate.

It is with genuine personal pleasure that I salute and honor and pay tribute to Carl Hayden.

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, it has been said many times—and accurately so—that no man is better versed in or more dedicated to the rules and traditions of the Senate than the man we honor today, Carl Hayden, of Arizona.

We all know him as a man who chooses his words carefully. In a body not noted for its lack of verbiage, he is the soul of brevity. As Carl Hayden has often said, "If you have the votes,

you do not need to talk." It is equally true that if one does not have the votes, no amount of talk can get his measure passed.

Someone should write a book about this distinguished Senator. If it were done properly it would serve as a guide for every Member of the Senate. The subtitle might be "The Seantor Who Gets Things Done."

I have never seen a great man who did not have outstanding personal virtues. Of the two outstanding characteristics of Carl Hayden I would say the first is his modesty. No man in or out of office has been more completely free of vanity than is Carl Hayden.

His second outstanding virtue, I would say, is his kindliness and attitude of helpfulness.

That was well impressed upon me when I came to the Senate as a freshman just 5 years ago and was assigned to serve with him on the Rules Committee. Senator HAYDEN went out of his way on many occasions to be kind, generous, and helpful and to explain to me and other new Senators about Senate procedures and the reasons for them.

In many respect, Mr. President, he was a godfather to us.

The signal honor which our friend and colleague has achieved today is unique in the history of the United States. No one is more richly entitled to such distinction.

Mr. President, as a part of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record an article entitled "Service Beyond Oratory Is What Matters," written by Cecil Holland and published in the Washington Sunday Star of November 12, 1961.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SENATOR HAYDEN'S 50 YEARS-SERVICE BEYOND

ORATORY IS WHAT (By Cecil Holland) Star Staff Writer

Senator Carl Hayden, of Arizona, who will be honored at a testimonial dinner in Phoenix this week for 50 years of congressional service, first came to Congress 5 years before President Kennedy was born.

When he stepped into the well of the House on February 19, 1912, to become the Representative of the newly admitted 48th State, Vice President Johnson, with whom he has worked closely in many a Senate battle, was a 4-year-old playing under the Texas cottonwoods. His Arizona Republican colleague, Senator Goldwater, was 3. At least 15 of the Arizona Democrat's Senate colleagues had not been born.

The nonpartisan dinner for the Senate's Nestor is expected to attract 1,200 people. The President will make it an important port of call on his Western swing. Vice President Johnson will be there, too, and will join in the tributes to the 84-year-old Senator whose record of accomplishments will be found written in the law books and appropriation bills and not in the flamboyance of Senate debate.

#### SELF-EFFACING SERVICE

The gathering will be more than a tribute to Senator Hayden personally. It will be a recognition of an elusive quality, a tradition of self-effacing public service which, more than oratory, has made the Senate what it is.

Aside from the imposing length of his service in the Senate and House, Senator

HAYDEN stands apart from many of his colleagues. As far as his associate can recall, he has never called a news conference.

And he has never found it necessary to get out weekly newsletters to the people back home, as many Senators do. Except during campaigns he has not bothered to make weekly visits to the Senate recording room to tape interviews and reports for use by the television and radio stations in his home State.

Until recently he never felt the need for a public relations aid on his staff. He has one now. "Some of the Senator's friends," an associate explained, "thought that other fellow was getting all the publicity." The other fellow is Senator Goldwater, who has become recognized as the articulate spokesman of the Republican Party's conservative wing and a possible candidate for the Presidential nomination in 1964.

There's no Madison Avenue touch in Senator Hayden's public relations efforts. It is definitely low-keyed.

Senator Haypen, who served seven successive terms in the House before moving to the Senate, likely is thinking about running for a seventh full 6-year term in the Senate where he is president pro tempore and chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee which must provide the funds for Mr. Kennedy's expanding New Frontier

Mr. Kennedy's expanding New Frontier.
When Senator Hayden, who had served two terms as sheriff of Maricopa County, first came to Congress he looked around and remarked "This is a pretty good place. How does one stay here?" An oldtimer of the day supplied the answer. "You take care of your people and the people will take care of you."

Another thing Senator HAYDEN recalls being told was:

"There are two kinds of Congressmen—show horses and workhouses. If you want to get your name in the papers, be a show horse. If you want to gain the respect of your colleagues, keep quiet and be a workhorse."

Senator HAYDEN took the advice to heart. He chose to be a workhorse. In his 14 years in the House and long years in the Senate he labored mightly in the committees and still does. He seldom speaks on the Senate floor and only then on matters affecting Arizona or the West, or in guiding an appropriation bill or some related legislation through the tortuous paths of Senate debate.

#### HE IS A LISTENER

He doesn't sit in the front row of the Democratic side of the Senate with the Democratic leader and other Senate veterans which his rank would entitle him to. He is content with his seat on the aisle one row removed from the rear. From this vantage point he listens closely to the debate. When necessary he will rise and speak—and right to the point. What he has to say is factual and presented without oratorical fashes. "If you want to challenge Carl on some point," said a Senate colleague, "you'd better be prepared with facts, too. He will demolish your arguments, if you're not." Senator Hayden knows his Senate as well

Senator Haypen knows his Senate as well as any man could. "When you've got the votes," he once said, "you don't have to talk."

And when you have got the votes back home, as Senator HAYDEN always has, you don't have to try and get your name in the newspapers. The Senator has never found it necessary to cultivate newspapermen. In talking with them he is courteous, if a little wry. Looking owlishly over the rims of his glasses, he will answer questions and little more. "Senator HAYDEN," said one veteran Capitol Hill reporter, "is not one you would think of passing the time of day with in hopes of picking up a little news."

When Congress adjourns and many of the Members fly off to different parts of the world, Senator Hayden usually goes home to

Arizona. Always his political fences have been in good repair. In this connection this writer has an unforgettable picture of Senator Hayden. As a party of reporters accompanying former Vice President Nixon on a cross-country political tour rushed into a Phoenix hotel for a thunderous rally, Senator Hayden ambled out, serenely confident in his bearing, smiling faintly and extending a quiet greeting to those he recognized. Memory may be faulty but it seems that the Republican orator of the day was careful to avoid any reference to the veteran lawmaker whose hold on the affections of Arizona voters goes back nearly to the turn of the century.

SERVED AS COUNTY TREASURER

Senator Hayden was born October 2, 1877, at Hayden's Ferry (now Tempe) and was educated in the public schools, Normal School of Arizona and Stanford University. Before being elected sheriff he served a term as country treasurer.

In the vanishing frontier of his day Senator HAYDEN was no gun-slinging peace officer in the Hollywood tradition. Being sheriff, Senator HAYDEN says, required "commonsense rather than gun play."

In his long years in Washington the Senator has shunned the Capital's social swim. He seldom went out. The Senator whose wife is dead, continues to live in an apartment hard by the Senate, and his life, said a longtime associate, "is a lot of work."

a longtime associate, "is a lot of work."

"He's always been a wonderful person to
work for," said another. "He's never autocratic." Some other impressions from those
who have worked with him over the years:
"He has no political machine. He's just an
individual." "He has never been a man to
blow off a lot of steam."

When the distinguished group, Republicans as well as Democrats, gathers in Phoenix to pay him honor, it would be a safe bet to say that Senator Haynen, as usual, will not have much to say. He will not blow off steam. He will just be, as he has become, "Mr. Senate."

Mr. Pell. Mr. President, it is with a very full heart that I pay tribute to Senator Carl Hayden on his 50th anniverysary as a Member of Congress. I find myself particularly personally moved at this time, since my father and he were colleagues in Congress more than 40 years ago, and my predecessor, Senator Theodore Francis Green, the oldest Senator ever to serve in our body, was a colleague and close friend of Senator Hayden for many years.

In the short time that I have been serving in this body with Senator Hayden and with him on the Committee on Rules and Administration, I have come to know him and to share the same very high regard that Senator Green has and my own father had for him. He is a man of honor, of judgment, and of commonsense; in fact, he is truly a Senator's Senator.

I congratulate him on a full, productive, and well spent life which has still, I trust, many more years to run. I only hope that in the course of my own work in the Senate I may do anywhere nearly as well for my State and my country as Senator Hayden has done for his.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I wish to add my voice to the voices of other Senators who are today paying tribute to our distinguished and learned colleague, the venerable senior Senator from Arizona. His record of longevity is unparalleled. He has served in Congress as long as there has been a State of

Arizona, and has now started on his second half century of service.

There is a quiet dignity and efficiency in the manner in which Senator Hayden goes about his business. Certainly length of service alone does not indicate in any way Carl Hayden's devotion to the United States, the Senate, and his constituents.

Carl Hayden moves. He gets things done. His work as head of the large and highly important Committee on Appropriations is especially impressive. The committee has played an important role in the shaping of America. He, his fellow members, and their efficient staff are always ready to work on any money problem with any Senator. This, too, is a tribute to Carl Hayden and the way he works.

There is nothing pompous about Senator Hayden. When a young man comes to the Senate, Carl Hayden is one of those who seems to be willing to make time to show the young man the ropes. He is one of those who is always ready to assist a colleague to get a job done.

One of the great pleasures and privileges of being a Member of the Senate is to be a colleague of Carl Hayden. The Senate, the country, and the world are better for having him here.

CARL HAYDEN: A LEGEND IN HIS OWN LIFETIME

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, 35 years ago, in 1927, I went to El Paso, Tex., as a young, newly licensed lawyer to begin the practice of law. I found a land with different legends and heroes from those I had known in the eastern part of my home State. There in the West I heard of Carl Hayden; he had already become a legend in the whole Southwest, just as he was then a hero in Arizona, in that State's search for water. For west Texas was as proud of Carl Hayden as his own native State of Arizona.

That year, 1927, after 15 years in the House of Representatives, Carl Hayden came to the U.S. Senate. And his stature has grown in the Southwest, in the Senate, and in the Nation, with each passing year. Decades ago, a saying grew up among the rangers of the Southwest, expressive of a man in whom they would put full trust and confidence in every possible situation; that term describes Carl Hayden: "He will do to ride the river with."

In Texas and all the Southwest, as well as in Arizona, he is appreciated for his stanch stand for conservation of soil and water, for reclamation and public power, and for his belief in the maximum utilization of natural resources for the general good.

It is a great privilege to be a Member of this body on the day when a Senator becomes the first Member of the Congress of the United States to serve a half century in the Congress. It is a personal pleasure to see the honored and respected Carl Hayden, of Arizona, become the first and the only one of all the men who have served this Nation, to touch that golden marker. Carl Hayden has had that honor that seldom comes to any man: He has become a legend in his own lifetime.

For a half century he has met every test that national political duty laid upon him in the National Congress. In that time two World Wars, the great depression of the 1930's, booms and recessions, severe droughts in the Southwest, and other exacting economic, social and political upheavals, have washed around him their waves of change. Only Carl Hayden's character was unchanging. With calm self-confidence and a serenity born of high character and innate courage, he is as serene and unperturbed in a political storm as at a spring picnic.

CARL HAYDEN knew adverse conditions before he came to the Senate. Droughts he had seen, that dried up the scant water supply of his native State, and left the bleached bones of the starved herds glistening upon every sandy plain.

High hot winds, for days on end, driving grains of sand with cutting edges into the skin of man and beast, he knew, too. He had felt the sting of a hot sun that dried the moisture out of a man's body, and made points of heat jump around on his arms and body like pin pricks. And bitter cold winds and cold snows covered the Painted Desert and the Grand Canyon and the Petrified Forest in the northern part of his native State, and he felt their bites too, in the days before automobiles took men off to quick refuge in heated rooms.

The fierce Apaches were still fighting the U.S. Army and ambushing Arizona ranchers when CARL HAYDEN was a boy; he, of all of us in this body, is the only one who actually grew up on a hostile, fighting frontier.

Carl Hayden was a territorial sheriff in Arizona before statehood, in the times before television, when tough hombres really went to the Southwest, and a sheriff's word was the law, but it was the law only if he had the will and the nerve and the moral force to make it stick. Carl Hayden had that will and that nerve and that moral force. Since he did, the people of Arizona voted him in with statehood, and sent him to Washington as their first Congressman, and have kept him here ever since.

What gave this long life and this far more remarkable long tenure of service? Character—and the calm self-assurance and faith within that comes only with the knowledge of duty done to the best of one's ability, with fairness to all, and with rancor toward hone.

And having served in that faith, and on that unbreakable rock of character and fairness, providence has brought him, alone of all Americans, here today to lay his hand upon the golden milepost.

Mr. President, the Nation salutes the senior Senator from the United States of America, but, that the opinion of his home State will be remembered, too, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the Record a salute to our distinguished colleague, ably written by Mr. Charles Franklin Parker, and published in the February-March 1962 issue of Arizona Highways, under the title "Senator Carl Hayden: The Distinguished Gentleman From Arizona."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SENATOR CARL HAYDEN: THE DISTINGUISHED GENTLEMAN FROM ARIZONA

## (By Charles Franklin Parker)

CARL HAYDEN has represented Arizona either in the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate since the granting of statehood in 1912. He has served under nine presidents—from William Howard Taft to John F. Kennedy.

His record of 50 years of service, embrac-

His record of 50 years of service, embracing the entire period of statehood, has never been equaled by any other person in U.S. history. If the development of Arizona has been spectacular, it has not been hindered but importuned by the efforts of this famous native son whose devoted service has been dedicated to her interest.

Just as boys outgrow their trousers on the journey to manhood so it is that some men outgrow the designations that might properly apply to some of lesser stature. Senator CARL HAYDEN, at 84, has outgrown a party personality to become the respected image of a servant of all of the people of Arizona and the United States. He is a political officeholder become statesman and one beyond party in the love and admiration of the people of his native State.

On the occasion of the 45th anniversary of HAYDEN'S continuous service in Congress his colleagues in the U.S. Senate testified to his greatness in glowing terms as recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of February 20, 1957. The then Senator from Texas and now Vice President LYNDON B. JOHNSON eulogized:

"It was just 45 years ago [now 50] that Arizona entered the Union as a State and Carl Hayden entered Congress. Both events were of tremendous significance. The emergence of Arizona as a State ended the process of creating a Nation that stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The entry of Carl Hayden into the Congress brought us one of our wisest, one of our ablest, and one of our most beloved colleagues."

And the junior Senator from Arizona, BARRY GOLDWATER, speaking for Arizonans, stated:

"It may seem peculiar to my colleagues in this body, who would expect a Republican and a Democratic Senator from the same State to be fighting, to find them not doing so. As a Republican, Mr. President, I find myself in great sympathy with the people of my State who have eternal gratitude for the

service of Carl Hayden in the Senate."

When the Flood-Smith Statehood resolution, the enabling act for both Arizona and New Mexico, passed Congress on August 21, 1911, and was signed by President William Howard Taft at 3:08 the afternoon of the same day, Carl Hayden received the news in Phoenix while serving as sheriff of Maricopa County. What this meant to him at this moment we perhaps can not surmise. It is possible that his mind picked up the thought early implanted by his mother. Sallie Davis Hayden had called Carl the Senator from an early age and spoke of her expectation that he would some day serve in this greatest deliberative body of our Nation.

Regardless of our surmise, sometime after the proclamation was issued by Gov. Richard E. Sloane on September 20, 1911, Carl Hayden filed the necessary papers to have his name placed on the primary ballot as a candidate for the lone seat in the U.S. House of Representatives granted to the new State. He was one of three candidates seeking the nomination on the Democratic ballot in the primary held October 24 of that year. He received 4,237 votes against 2,685 for Mulford Winsor and 2,662 for Lamar Cobb. In the general election on December 12, Hayden was elected to Congress by a vote of

11,556 as against 8,445 for his Republican opponent, John S. Williams,

He was ready to assume his duties in Congress as soon as the great day of admission for Arizona as the 48th State came on February 14, 1912. Five days later, on February 19, CARL HAYDEN appeared in the House of Representatives to take the oath of office as Arizona's first Congressman. Though elected, HAYDEN did not leave Arizona until after statehood had been attained and the time of travel involved took him into Washington on a Sunday so he could not take the oath of office until the following day.

oath of office until the following day.

It is interesting to note that because article XVII which amended the Constitution of the United States and established the procedure of direct election of Senators was not to be passed until 1913, and since the Arizona Legislature could not convene until after statehood to elect two Senators from Arizona, Carl Hayden was this State's lone Representative in the halls of Congress for some period. His services, therefore, antedate those who became Arizona's first Senators by election of the legislature.

HAYDEN served in the House of Representatives from 1912 to 1927 and since 1927 has been in the Senate. In the senatorial primary election on September 27, 1926, when he first ran for the upper House, HAYDEN defeated his Democratic opponent for the nomination, C. H. Rutherford, by 36,745 to 8,995. In the general election on November 2, he defeated his Republican opponent, R. H. Cameron, by a vote of 44,591, to 31,845. In the succeeding five contests to retain his Senate seat, HAYDEN has been opposed, both in primary and general elections, but it can be stated honestly that his seat has never been in serious jeopardy. He is now completing his sixth term (36 years) in the upper body.

CARL HAYDEN has been a shy, quiet student of government, whose great efforts have been expended behind the doors of committee rooms and in persuasive conversations in the cloakrooms of Congress. Unassuming and modest, he is still known as one of the few Senators who does his own research in the Library of Congress. Never a speech maker, Hayden has given only three in his 50 years of service; he prefers to expend his time, energy, and wisdom in forming sound legislation after long research and consultation. As has been noted, "almost every bill that passes Congress bears upon it some part of Carl Hayden's stamp."

Senator Hayden himself has told of the experience that probably set the pattern for his characteristic role in Congress over these many years. He tells that his most cherished piece of advice came in his early days from Representative Fred C. Talbott of Maryland who said, "There are two kinds of Congressmen—show horses and work horses. If you want to get your name in the papers be a show horse. If you want to gain the respect of your colleagues, keep quiet and be a work horse." Carl Hayden has definitely been a work horse.

His fellow Senators, in their 1957 tribute to him, ran the gamut in adjectives of praise. They said of HAYDEN that "he has performed great service for his State and country" \* \* \* "no more effective legislator ever served in either House of the Congress" \* \* \* "one of the most likable Members" \* \* \* \* "has the reputation, among young Senators on both sides of the aisle, of always being available and helpful to them" \* \* \* "in legislation affecting the Government of the United States, his actions have been based not on narrow partisan lines, but on what is best for the welfare of our country" \* \* \* "has a grasp of the affairs of this Government which few Members of the Senate have had."

The Washington Star has called HAYDEN the only real-life frontiersman still in public life whose worries today are much the

same as they were in 1912: The largest Indian population of any State in the Union, mining, irrigation and reclamation, agricul-

ture and highways."

Throughout his years in Congress HAYDEN has never lost sight of the fact that he was elected to represent his own State of Arizona. He began his career in Washington with a determination to help Arizona shoulder the full burdens of statehood and he has successfully watched over her interests and growth for half a century.

HAYDEN has been a tireless champion for irrigation of arid lands, and Arizona's wide areas of reclaimed desert are verdant monuments, mile after mile, to the Senator's success. In 1937 he obtained \$3 million for the Salt River project, Headgate Rock Dam and the Gila project; in 1938 he persuaded the Bureau of Reclamation to start engineering work for the great Central Arizona project; and he obtained funds for Coolidge Dam and the San Carlos project. With Senator Henry Fountain Ashurst he filibustered the Boulder Dam (now Hoover Dam) bill until California agreed to provisions for water supply protection for Arizona and other basin States.

A Senate leader in highway legislation, HAYDEN coauthored in 1934 the Hayden-Cartwright bill that established the formula for distribution of Federal aid to highways on the basis of area rather than population. This was the financial highway boost that the Southwest and the West needed so desperately to provide transportation links be-tween its farflung cities in a nationwide

highway chain.

HAYDEN has steadfastly worked to advance mining operations in the entire country, provide fair prices, protection against unfair foreign imports, and subsidy grants for strategic metals. One of those in Congress who worked hardest on social security legislation, HAYDEN later fought and won the right of American Indians to be included within its framework. His concern for our Indian population has always been paramount.

While water is liquid gold to all the Southwest, the clear desert air of Arizona provided another natural ingredient which HAYDEN promoted to great benefit. Through his efforts Arizona in World War II became a prominent air training center and today its air bases and military sites are important installations in American defense and to the

State's economy.

Recognized today as probably the best informed man on this Nation's financial problems, HAYDEN has held the country's purse strings within his grasp. As member, vicechairman and then chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, he has exerted strong influence so that the Western States received their fair share of funds.

HAYDEN'S foresight has meant much to Arizona, and in fact the whole country, in the preservation of scenic wonders in a system of national parks and monuments for all mankind to enjoy. Perhaps an appreciation of the Senator's farflung services to Arizona is best summed up in part of the citation that accompanied the honorary doctor of laws degree awarded him in 1948 by the University of Arizona:

"His services to the State have been various and unsurpassed \* \* \* he has played a major role in the reclamation of her fertile acres and in opening her scenic, climatic, and industrial treasures to new citizens and vis-

itors from all over the world."

Throughout his life HAYDEN has had many interests which blossomed to the Nation's good. He is credited with a large role in the chartering of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America by Congress in 1916 and with promoting rifle clubs as part of civilian training. This interest grew naturally from his service as an officer in the Arizona National Guard, prior to being elected to Congress, when he served as captain of the Ari-

zona rifle team. In 1911 at the championship matches at Camp Perry, Ohio, HAYDEN won the national long range title, scoring 15 bullseyes at 1,000 yards out of a possible 15. During World War I he was commissioned an infantry major in the U.S. Army.

A recognition earned by his long tenure in office came in August 1961, when the League of Women Voters honored him as the only incumbent Congressman to have voted for the 19th amendment which ushered in

woman suffrage in 1919.

However outstanding has been HAYDEN'S career in the guiding of legislation and serving as a mentor in both House and Senate, these attainments, which are monumental, are probably less than the remarkable personal service that he has given to the high and the lowly alike. The case of the un-known Chinese family gives only a glimpse.

The family had come to the United States and to Arizona as refugees from the Red revolution. After the man's wife died, leaving some children to be cared for, he later desired to marry a sister of his deceased wife and wanted to bring her to the United States from Hong Kong. The Chinese man had tried many means and all failed until an appeal was made to CARL HAYDEN. Then it appeared that the Senator had nothing else do. He gave personal attention to this request and after some little time the redtape was cleared and a happy family lived for years in Phoenix because one man, who could help, had cared.

Great as is CARL HAYDEN'S devotion to State and Nation, he has known one greater. That was to Nan Downing Hayden, his loving wife for 53 years. He referred to her as a good pal and his sister, Miss Sallie Hayden, testifies to their long and mutual devotion.

Miss Sallie recalls that one summer she had a friend visiting her and this friend found some of the poetry that CARL had They took one poem and put it on a card to use in a game of authors. The lines read:

"Did it ever occur to you, my gentle little dove.

Did it ever occur to you that a lad could fall in love."

While these lines were written long before he found Nan Downing on the campus of Stanford University, where both were students, the falling in love was truly a great and important event for these young people. Some 15 years before her death in June 1961, Mrs. Hayden had a stroke, and the care of her deepened the love that had ever been between them.

Mrs. Hayden was known as the "Betsy Ross of Arizona." She designed and made from copper, gold and blue cloth the flag that was to be adopted 3 years after statehood as the official State flag without a single change in its design. She had made the flag for the Arizona National Guard rifle team as their banner for the national meet at Camp Perry

With complete devotion and avoiding the political front, Mrs. Hayden centered her whole life around the Senator. She mirrored in many ways the warm personality of her husband, his concern and love for and his reticence to be in the headlines.

No man can be in public life, however, for more than 50 years and keep many secrets about himself from his constituency. Therefore about everything in HAYDEN's life has now been publicized. But we must herein recapitulate some events for this record to be complete and since the boy is father to the man possibly explain some facets of this great Arizonian.

The direct descendant of colonial Americans who first settled in Connecticut in the 1630's, CARL HAYDEN was born October 2, 1877, at Hayden's Ferry (now Tempe). He was the first white child born in the town founded by his father and from his parents

rightfully inherited a tradition of pioneering for and service to Arizona.

His father, Charles Trumbull Hayden, was a true Connecticut Yankee who declined an appointment to West Point, taught school while, and planned to study law in New York before he turned westward because of health. He brought 14 cattle-drawn wagons loaded with goods over the Santa Fe Trail in 1848 to New Mexico, Arizona, and California, and his trading in the Southwest was a steppingstone for American settlement in this Spanish-dominated area.

On one trip between Tucson and Prescott. Charles Hayden came to realize the potential of the Valley of the Sun and centered all. future activities at Hayden's Ferry on the Salt River. Here he established not only the ferry but a grist mill, mercantile store, blacksmith shop, barns, stables, and lime kiln, and planted orchards. He was a ploneer trader in the true sense. An educated merchant and freethinker, he wore a boiled shirt, bow tie, and coat in contrast to the traditionally range-garbed, gun-carrying men of that day.

Sallie Davis Hayden, the Senator's mother, was a spirited, independent woman with an unerring faculty for knowing people, making her the "politician" of the family. Daughter of a wealthy plantation owner, she had run away to seek a higher education, attended a convent in Tennessee for a year and then normal school in Illinois before venturing to California where she met her future husband. She was 32 years old and her husband 51 when they were married, and they were to have three children, a son and and two daughters. When CARL was yet a small boy—shy, book-reading and contemplative—his mother called him "The Senator" but she died before her son began

his great career in Congress.

Despite somewhat delicate health, CARL HAYDEN did have a rounded life in a pioneer town. He swam in the river, brought his father's cows in from pasture while riding on the back of a bull, made a round trip to Grand Canyon by horseback-yet all the while pursuing an insatiable quest for book knowledge. He was educated in the Tempe schools, at the newly established Tempe Normal School (now Arizona State University), and at Stanford. He entered Stanford just 3 months after Herbert Hoover had been graduated, was rugged enough to play center on the football team, shone equally well on the debating team, and lost the only election of his lifetime—for president of the student body.

When Carl Hayden's father died in 1900, he left college to look after the family interests in Tempe. He was 25 in 1902 when he began his career of public service. For two years he was a member of the Tempe Town Council, from 1904 to 1906 was Maricopa County treasurer, and from 1907 was county sheriff until he was elected Arizona's first Representative to Washington in 1912.

From HAYDEN's sister, Miss Sallie, who still resides in Tempe, there come insights into the boyhood of the Senator.

'CARL would not wear shoes," she said. "He went barefoot regularly until he entered the Normal at Tempe. I remember that church services were held in a community hall and CARL had to wear shoes to church. But once the service was over and he was outside, off came the shoes for the walk home."

'He was a very curious boy," says Miss Sallie. "This prompted him to run away for the simple purpose of investigating his surroundings. This caused much alarm to the family, especially since this curiosity could lead to disaster such as the loss of an index finger from the exploding of a giant powder cap.

She also recounts that CARL's mother became concerned about the influences that were coming into his life in the town. She, thereupon, went out from the town, homesteaded a place removed from this environ-

Individualism has characterized the Senator's life. Never a fighter yet a leader not by might but by ability and insight. Perchance one reporter summed it up well thus: "he seeks no headlines, yet constantly is in the thick of history-making news. He makes few speeches, yet his counsel is heeded as fact. And his persuasive power is stanch against the political whims, his role unchanged no matter which party controls Congress."

It must be understood, as an editorial in the Arizona Republic said, that "the senior Senator from Arizona is a Democrat, make no mistake about that. He's proud of the fact and he bears the badge of party regularity with honor and distinction. But he doesn't use party allegiance as a test of his willingness to help a constituent. Once he wrote to a friend in Phoenix: 'I have friends in both political parties and I do not forget that fact when there is an opportunity to be of service to them, regardless of whether they are Republicans or Democrats. Thomas Jefferson said that he had never allowed a political difference to interfere with friendship, and I have tried to be a good Jeffersonian."

CARL HAYDEN escapes the usual formula. He is honored by all—partisan or not. He is an Arizonan without peer, an American statesman unique in his position. prophet Joel once spoke to Israel:

"Your old men shall dream dreams

And your young men shall see visions."

The Honorable Carl Hayden, Senator from Arizona, is both old and young. In the light of his long experience he dares to "dream dreams" and from his youthful spirit he sees "visions" that still lead him on to more accomplishments directed by sagacity for the welfare of his Nation and the development of the resources and life of his beloved Arizona.

Carl Hayden—50 years an American statesman—we salute you as we mark the semicentennial of Arizona's statehood.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, I met Carl Hayden, our dean, whose 50th anniversary we are celebrating today, only a few days after I entered the Senate. I had been given the hot spot of investigating Senator McCarthy's participation in the Maryland election, as a very junior member of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. The Senator from Arizona was chairman of the parent Rules Committee. He also was already one of the senior Members of the Senate, but he called on me. I was amazed that a senior Senator would come to a junior's office, but he never has sat back on seniority.

Sometimes new men in the Senate are appalled at the mountainous problems which beset them. CARL HAYDEN endeavors to bring them into a comfortable relationship with the Senate. He helps, guides, and counsels with valued and sage advice that is never forgotten.

On the floor, I believe the senior Senator from Arizona speaks less, yet influences more votes, than any individual in the U.S. Senate. His quiet, lovable personality and his low key approach affect us all. He is never excited, but he can cut through the verbosity of others' presentations and reveal any phoniness, while he always comes up with a pure gold nugget.

At 84, after 60 years in public life and 50 years in the House and Senate, CARL HAYDEN is the dean of Congress. His accomplishments for the world, our Nation, and his State since he was sworn in as a House Member February 19, 1912, have been unmatched.

He has served in Congress during the entire life of his great State of Arizona and longer as a Senator than any other of his State's great Senators. Persons who are devoted to the conservation of water, soil, wildlife, and all the other things which are good in our Nation, owe a great debt of gratitude to CARL HAYDEN. There is no more influential Member in either House of Congress than our modest, quiet colleague from Arizona who can outwork and outthink us all.

Mr. President, as an additional tribute to the very effective chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. I wish to state that in an article on CARL HAYDEN'S life, published in the CWA News in March 1956, it was stated that CARL HAYDEN entered public life at age 25-in 1902. Thus, Mr. President, he has served in public life ever since the year of my birth. I am constantly amazed at the youth and the vigor he exhibits in all of the many, varied, complicated tasks which, by his great commonsense, he so ably masters.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD, as part of my remarks, the article from the CWA News to which I have referred.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR CARL HAYDEN IN PUBLIC LIFE FOR THE PAST 54 YEARS

CARL HAYDEN, Democratic Senator from Arizona, has been in public office for the past 54 years, and in that time, has never been turned down by the voters.

In 1902, at the age of 25, he became a member of the Tempe Town Council, continued through with 2 years as county treasurer, then five years as sheriff.

Arizona was still Federal territory during that early period. When the State was admitted to the Union-the 48th State-on Valentine's Day, 1912, the voters sent CARL HAYDEN to Congress. He's been there ever since, his seniority in the Senate being surpassed only by one man, Senator George, at

While serving under eight presidents-Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower—Senator HAYDEN has worked loyally and effectively for his State, his country and his party.

He is a modest man-we had trouble getting him to pose for the picture that accompanies this article. He is a hard worker. During a summer recess some time back, he had an opportunity to accompany an Appropriations Committee trip to Europe. stead, he stayed home and studied economic problems of the coming session.

Politicians say his hard work is one of the reasons the voters keep on reelecting him.

At comment of Senate Majority Leader LYNDON B. JOHNSON covers the situation neatly. He says:

"There is something reassuring about the future of a country which can produce leaders like CARL HAYDEN. He is a modest man, an unassuming man. He is not given to snap judgments and passionate outbursts that end in flaming headlines. Yet, I believe all my colleagues will agree with me when I say there is no more influential Member in either House of Congress."

Reporters like HAYDEN. The Washington Post and Times Herald has said of him:

"The wry, shy Arizonian has come a long way without headlines. In the Senate his behind-the-scenes influence is second to none on the Democratic side."

Another reporter has written of Senator HAYDEN.

"He seeks no headlines, yet consistently is in the thick of historymaking news. makes few speeches, yet his counsel is heeded as fact. And his persuasive power is stanch against the political whims, his role unchanged no matter which party controls Congress.

When he first came to Washington, he got some good advice he has followed ever since. It came from an old Confederate veteran, Representative Frederick C. Talbott, of Maryland. Talbott said to him after one of his early speeches:

"There are two kinds of Congressmenshowhorses and workhorses. If you want to get your name in the papers, be a show-horse. But if you want to gain the respect of your colleagues don't do it. Be a work-

CARL HAYDEN'S long record of service proves the advice was well received. He's been quietly working for the people and gaining the respect of his colleagues ever since.

CARL HAYDEN was the first white child born in Hayden's Ferry, the town founded by his father. The adobe house that was his birthplace is today a landmark of Temne.

As a boy, CARL HAYDEN was molded by the spirit of pioneers and by the cultural heritage of his parents. He swam in the Salt River, drove his father's cows in from pasture on the back of a bull, once rode a favorite horse to the Grand Canyon and

He's now been in Washington as a Representative or Senator for close to half a century. Many changes have taken place in America in that time, and HAYDEN has had an important share in molding those changes.

In the Senate he has made as his special fields highways, irrigation, reclamation, agriculture, and mining.

As the Senate leader in highway legislation, he made one of his most noteworthy contributions to Arizona and the West as coauthor of the Hayden-Cartwright bill that set the formula for distribution of Federal aid to highways on a basis which includes both area and population.

When Senator HAYDEN was awarded an honorary doctor of laws degree by the University of Arizona in 1948, the citation said in part:

'His services to the State have been various and unsurpassed. Particularly as a specialist in legislation affecting irrigation and Federal highways he has played a major role in the reclamation of her fertile acres and in opening her scenic, climatic, and industrial treasures to new citizens and visitors from over the world."

Huge irrigation and power projects, green vistas of reclaimed desert, and uncounted miles of wide, straight highways will long endure as monuments to CARL HAYDEN, of Arizona.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, elated citizens in both the Oklahoma and the Indian territories were still "whooping it up" to mark their combined entry into the Union when in still another Territory—one farther west—a friendly, quiet man with a gridiron physique lowered his right hand and grasped his sheriff's badge. He had just sworn to maintain the peace and to uphold the law in an Arizona Territory county where violence and disorder were normal

symptoms in the birthpains of a new, rugged State.

Mr. President, Sheriff Carl Hayden maintained the peace with respect, instead of with a revolver; he upheld the law with a firm, friendly hand, but not a heavy one. He was the true prototype of all the fictional Matt Dillons and Wyatt Earps, but he was no gunslinger. This rugged, friendly peace officer used brilliance for bullets, poise for posses. He had the fastest grin the West.

His personality and exploits became a regional legend, and some years later, when his sprawling new State got its first breath of life spanked into it, Carl Hayden became for a short period its sole Representative in the U.S. Congress. At that time Senators were named by the legislatures, and Arizona's had not yet convened when Congressman Hayden arrived in Washington in 1912.

Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Arizona has been intimately associated with the law for more than 60 years. He has gained eminence in enforcing the law, renown in creating the law, and respect for lending a rare brand of dignity to both functions. He is this Nation's greatest legislator statistically, historically, numerically, factually, and emphatically.

Our exceptional President pro tempore has sought anonymity almost as vigorously as he has avoided animosity. His incredible legislative record has never been fully logged, and only scant accounts of the colorful life of this remarkable westerner have been recorded.

One of these rare stories appeared a couple of years ago in the Reader's Digest. It related a score of incidentsany one of which would have justified a complete novel—that give us a slight insight into his intriguing early life in Arizona territory. It told how he used his fists to tame a notorious gunman who had threatened him; it recounted his pioneer life and his unique quest for knowledge. It also recalled his meeting of the great and gracious Nan Downing, on the campus of Stanford University. It was she, this lovely lady, who for more than a half century showered on him inspiration, understanding, and absolute devotion.

I recall that someone asked the Senator from Arizona about his reaction to that article.

One paragraph was inaccurate-

He asserted-

It said I lost an election for president of the student body by two votes because I gallantly voted for my opponent. I didn't vote for an opponent then, and never have since. I just plain lost that race.

Mr. President, so far as I know, that election was his lone defeat. In this century he has not yet been outpolled by an opponent.

The Senator from Oklahoma has reached an age considered as a mature one—an age identified with chronological fulfillment, and associated with retirement. But, Mr. President, he was in his midteens, doing what chores were forced on him on an Oklahoma farm, when the great Senator from Arizona came to Congress. Despite this wide

gap between our congressional careers, I have finally established some measure of kinship to this great legislator: I believe he and I are the only two Senators who were born in a mainland territory, not a State, and have spanned the colorful era from frontier to New Frontier.

Our great and beloved colleague, who has aided and counseled nine Presidents, today is observing a dual and distinguished event. Although Arizona was admitted to the Union on February 14, 1912, its representative took the oath of office in the House of Representatives exactly 50 years ago today, following a 5-day journey. His is a historical story of a remarkable man and a fabulous State.

Arizona's entry into the Union did not create the Nation, but it made the United States a solid Republic from coast to coast; and although the Representative it wisely dispatched to Washington did not create Congress, he certainly has helped to improve and perfect it.

CARL HAYDEN has found it unnecessary to resort to the use of many of the weapons usually associated with a sheriff or a Senator. He is eloquent, without orating; he is resounding, even in a whisper; he is aware, without prying. He is at all times effective.

Mr. President, the people of Oklahoma are grateful to Carl Hayden for a host of kindnesses. I know the senior Senator from Oklahoma has served his State and his Nation better as the result of the inspiration and guidance of this great man from Arizona. I am certain that 40 other States and hundreds of other Senators are equally as grateful.

Our mighty but modest President pro tempore has heard millions of words on the floors of the two Houses of Congress; and it seems that a material and more suitable tribute should be proffered. It seems that his portrait should grace the Congressional Record today; but I am certain this unassuming man would not permit his Joint Committee on Printing to relax that rule.

I think a mighty statue should be carved and placed conspicuously in the Halls of Congress, as an inspiration to all lawmakers, present and future; but so long as Carl Hayden is chairman of the Appropriations Committee, it would never be permitted to allocate the necessary funds.

It seems that there should be placed above the entranceway to this Chamber a stone carving reading "Carl Hayden Served Here"; but the Rules Committee, which he headed for so many years, would never agree to it.

So, Mr. President, we must pay him only vocal tributes. I sincerely congratulate this greatest of all Senators on his half-century of unparalleled service. I commend the great State of Arizona for having the wisdom to send him to us. I am grateful that providence has permitted me to know and to serve with such an outstanding American, who can be addressed either as "Mr. Hayden, the Senator from Arizona," or as "Mr. Arizona, the Senator from Hayden."

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the tributes expressed this afternoon in this

forum are genuine. They come from the grateful colleagues of Senator Carl Hayden, and regardless of their length they are given in full measure to a truly great legislator.

A short story of a personal nature may best serve to indicate the kindness and the helpfulness of the senior Senator from Arizona: In November 1958, I came to Washington to serve in the Senate for the unexpired term of the late distinguished Senator M. M. Neely. I had been in my temporary offices perhaps less than 3 days—I believe it was the second day—when a kindly, unostentatious visitor came to call. His eyes twinkled. I was being welcomed by the Senator from Arizona. He just walked in and asked, if not in these exact words, in the essence of these words: "Can I be of any assistance to you as you begin your work in the U.S. Senate?"

I shall never forget that friendly and yet forceful way in which he impressed a new Senator with his sincere desire to be of service.

I recall that on November 17, 1961, I was privileged to attend the celebration in his honor in Phoenix, Ariz. Senators and Representatives in Congress were present. His own beloved folk, more than 1,000 of the citizens of his own State, were happy in an outpouring of true tribute to this truly remarkable man.

To have served a State continuously in the Congress of the United States since its admission to the Union of States a half century ago is an honor not experienced by any other citizen. We acclaim Carl Hayden today for this achievement.

But in bestowing upon the venerable Senator from Arizona our praise for having completed 50 years of uninterrupted tenure in the Congress, we express our respect for him not for having graced these halls with his presence for a half century, but, rather, for the quality of the service he has performed for his State and the Nation during that span of years.

Those of us who have had the privilege of serving in the Congress with Senator Carl Hayden know why grateful constituents never have failed to return him victorious. This representation covers the years from January 19, 1912, to March 3, 1927, in the House of Representatives and from March 4, 1927, to the present in the U.S. Senate.

Faithful, patriotic, and unpretentious service has been the hallmark of Carl Hayden's unequalled period of tenure.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, one of the hardest, yet most pleasant, of the many responsibilities which comes to each of us is that of voicing, both as an individual and as the representative of our State, words of well-earned commendation and deserved tribute to our colleagues. It is hard, because so many Senators justly deserve such tribute and the opportunities of giving commendation are many.

But when it comes to paying tribute to the dean of the Senate, our beloved President pro tempore, the senior Senator from Arizona, it becomes even more difficult because there are so many areas

in which he has placed upon our country the stamp of his wise counsel, the imprint of his legislative foresight, the hallmark of his compassion, and, to use the Biblical phrase, the signature of his charity, which is the true love of his fellow man

In the 13th chapter of the First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, we are told that:

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling

And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.

CARL HAYDEN speaks but seldom, but when he does, it is to the point and his judgment is received with respect. It is based upon five decades of cool and considered appraisal of men and proposals weighed against the national need and the public good. Yet, in spite of his position of power, which he holds as a trust, Senators from every part of the country, of every shade of political belief, respect, revere, and love him. The reason for this, I think, is that he, above all of his colleagues, understands the problems of their constituents and he is unstinting in his efforts to find practical solutions which will resolve them. This quality is the quality of charity in its widest sense, and it gives resonance to his words, as it tempers the clarity of his insight.

Senator HAYDEN is gifted with prophetic foresight, but since in him this is based upon a faith in the democratic process and a belief that under law honest men can work together to create a sound and enduring nation despite their individual frailties, this gift of prophecy has enabled him to translate the vision into reality. He has brought water to the arid regions; he has helped to span the continent with broad highways; he has brought light to remote farm areas; and he has ushered in the age of electronic power for good.

Surely it has been given to few men in history to have presided as a wise counselor over so much which has changed our patterns of living in such a short span of time.

The 51st year he now starts in the Congress of the United States continues a record of unparallel service to all of the people in each of the States. Arizona has him as her senior Senator, but all America is his constituency. Oregon knows him for a true friend and is proud to claim him as her honorary legislator, for Bonneville and all the other great dams which tame the Columbia to the work of man stand as silent testimonials to his vision, his faith, and his friendship, which is another definition of his charity.

As a man, and as a Senator, I am honored to claim his friendship for I am deeply indebted to him for his wisdom and sage judgment. On behalf of my State, and in a very personal way on my own behalf, I tender thanks to CARL HAYDEN for all he has done in the past, confident that in the coming decades he will, as is his custom, be ever

ready, for the benefit of the people of the United States, to carry out with high distinction his manifold responsibilities.

In closing, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be included in the Record at this point in my remarks an article on Senator Hayden appearing in the New York Herald Tribune of February 19, and a copy of the statement of tribute I submitted at the CARL HAYDEN golden anniversary dinner on November 17, 1961.

There being no objection, the article and statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

From the New York Herald Tribune, Feb. 19, 1962]

SENATOR HAYDEN BECOMES A 50-YEAR MAN

WASHINGTON.-Senator CARL T. HAYDEN, who has been representing Arizona in Congress ever since it became the 48th State in 1912, made history yesterday by rounding out 50 years of continuous service in the House and Senate.

He marked the occasion by giving one of his very rare interviews which-typicallywas devoted largely to deprecating any suggestions that he wields the great power which generally is credited to him.

The modest, one-time territorial sheriff now is dean of the Senate in both service and age and is expected to seek reelection this fall for a seventh 6-year term. He came to the Senate in 1927 after 15 years in the

A Democrat, Senator Hayden is chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee and Senate president pro tempore. He seldom takes part in floor debate and even more rarely talks to reporters for publication.

#### ALL KINDS OF ANGLES

Although he has served longer than any of the more than 10,000 other Congressmen, Senator Hayden balks at the suggestion that he fully understands the legislative system.

"Oh, I don't think anybody fully understands it yet," he said in an interview taped for the CBS television program "Washington Conversation."

"There are all kinds of angles to it. There is always something new turns up."
Senator HAYDEN, who will be 85 October 2,

brushed aside the theory that an inner circle of senior Senators control the socalled Senate club.

"That is more or less a myth," he said; adding that the ranking Senators may 'know their way about, but they don't get off in a huddle and decide what the rest of the Senators will do.

"They (others) wouldn't stand for that." Senator HAYDEN has no plans for reforming the legislative branch or changing the unlimited Senate debate that sometimes runs into filibusters.

#### AIDED BY FILIBUSTER

In fact, he credits a filibuster with helping him get to the Senate, when a plan to admit New Mexico and Arizona territories as a single State was defeated by long debate.

And he told about helping Arizona get some share of waters from Boulder or Hoover Dams by some lengthy debate.

"I like the way the Senate operates," he

Asked if the numerous Federal dam, highway, and other projects in Arizona resulted from his seniority and power, Senator HAY-DEN again balked.

"It doesn't stem from any power," he said. "If you have a good project, the Congress will adopt it. Nobody has the power to impose anything on the Congress or procure the enactment into legislation."

Senator HAYDEN confirmed that as an Arizona sheriff he helped capture two train robbers in an adjoining county. Indian scouts located the robbers the day after the robbery, he recalled, and "we pursued them in an automobile."

#### SHERIFF 7 YEARS

He was the first white child born at Hayden's Ferry, Ariz., established by his father and now known as Tempe. Senator HAYDEN served 2 years on the Tempe Town Council, 2 years as county treasurer, and 7 years as sheriff before election to Congress.

The sheriff then collected fees. He said: 'I would go around with my receipts book and collect for a crap game or a roulette wheel or poker games and faro and the saloon itself and any gambling devices there."

Senator HAYDEN said he did this in the forenoons and usually the bartender would invite him to take a drink.

"I would explain that I had a rule—noth-

ing before sundown," he said.
"I never was interested in gambling," he replied to another question, "Oh, I don't mean to say I haven't put four bits on a wheel, or something like that, but to be a gambler-no."

#### CARL HAYDEN-MAN OF ACHIEVEMENT

The happy occasion of Senator HAYDEN'S golden anniversary of service in Congress provides a welcome opportunity for expressing some of my thoughts about the honored and respected dean of the Senate, though I am certain that I cannot summarize them in words that do ample justice to my very good friend and colleague, the Senator from Arizona.

As the Vice President has said on numerous occasions, Carl Hayden's most remarkable attribute is the very high degree of affection in which his colleagues hold him. The public records of the Congress bear witness to his many spontaneous acts of courtesy, consideration, and friendliness to new generations of Senators. He is renowned for his willingness to listen with sympathetic understanding, for his capacity to advise soundly and for the gracious manner in which he renders assistance. I believe there is no man in the U.S. Senate who has not been for the better influenced by the Senator from Arizona.

As we have heard from Congressmen from both lawmaking bodies, from both parties, and from all sections of this country, Senator HAYDEN'S performance as a legislator has made a major contribution to the building of the United States. Beginning with his own State, his astuteness, knowledge, and understanding have had a direct effect upon

progress in every corner of the country.

Westerners of today and those of future generations will always be indebted to him for bringing life-giving water to arid lands and the countless benefits that flow from multiple-use development of the great river resources of the United States.

On many occasions my own State of Oregon has celebrated major developments made possible through the fine help of the senior Senator from Arizona as we did last month in the case of the Harney Electric Cooperative project. His timely assistance made it possible to bring low-cost Bonneville electric power to farmers and ranchers in remote areas of Oregon and Nevada. Through him we banished much toil from the lives of people in the Northwest. I do not think there is a man or woman in Oregon whose life is not a little easier as a result of his wisdom and foresight.

It deserves to be known and appreciated throughout the country, that the United States is exceedingly fortunate to have CARL HAYDEN'S experience, prudence, and perspective in the administration of its affairs. In consistently placing the interests of the Nation above the interests of a selfish few, he has fulfilled the highest vision of the Found-

ing Fathers in setting up the Senate as a body composed of men from the States, yet for the Nation.

History will record the senior Senator from Arizona as one of the great men of that body. His is a career that Senators of the future may well strive to emulate. I regret that I cannot attend in person or offer my heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for many more years of dedicated public service to one of the true and steadfast builders of American strength, character, and fame.

Mr. JORDAN. Mr. President, it gives me a great deal of pleasure at this time to join my colleagues in paying tribute to my friend, and to the friend of every Senator in this great body, Carl Hayden.

I will never forget the day I was sworn in as a Member of the Senate, and it was certainly one of the great moments of my life. Carl Hayden administered the oath to me. I suppose every Senator, when he is sworn in, has a certain amount of nervousness as he walks up to take the oath, but the genuine warmth and friendship that he exhibited at that time dispelled any of the fears and uneasiness I had.

Mr. President, one of my most prized possessions is a picture made with Senator Hayden immediately after I was sworn in. I shall always prize it as one

of my great possessions.

Mr. President, today is a great day for the Congress of the United States. We are pausing to pay tribute to one of the truly great leaders of our time. Senator HAYDEN, in every sense of the word, is a man among men.

Public service—unselfish service—has been the life of Carl Hayden. Since the days he served as sheriff of Maricopa County, Ariz., Senator Hayden has stood tall among those who devote their lives to making society better for all people.

When I came to the Senate just 4 years ago, I was deeply impressed with Senator HAYDEN. I found him most helpful. I found him understanding. I found him fair.

I have heard that there is an old saying out in the West. When a man has the reputation that you can "ride the river with him," it means that he is "tops."

Senator Hayden is such a man. You can ride the river with Senator Hayden.

Senator Hayden is a modest man. Over the years, I am sure no one has had more influence over the course this Nation has taken than Senator Hayden. But even today, with the key positions he holds in the Senate, Senator Hayden goes about his work without a great deal of talk or fanfare. He would rather just work—and get the job done.

To him today I would like to say, "Thanks, and keep up the good work." I sincerely hope that Senator HAYDEN will represent his State and Nation for

many, many years to come.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, since Arizona became a State 50 years ago there have been 14 Senators and Representatives in Congress as the elected advocates of that sun-blessed section of our land. And there has been one man here all the while, first as a Member of the House of Representatives and then as Arizona's distinguished Senator, Carl Hayden. His continuous service since

Arizona statehood makes him "Mr. Arizona" and "Mr. U.S. Senate." Few men have served their country as effectively and as well as Carl Hayden. It has been my great pleasure to be a colleague and personal friend of Senator Hayden for 21 years, and my respect for him has expanded with passing time. He is a man of great wisdom, judgment, and humility. Arizona has been fortunate in having him as its wise and able servant.

Recently I saw a copy of a Phoenix newspaper that carried an eight-column headline stating "All Hail Carl Hayden," on the occasion of an anniversary dinner held there honoring him. He is a man respected and beloved in his home State, just as he is here in the Senate of the United States. I know that the people of Arizona will continue to benefit from his rich experience.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, it is very difficult to find the words adequately to describe my profound respect and admiration for the great qualities of the senior Senator from Arizona, our

friend, CARL HAYDEN.

Ever since I have been a Member of this body, Senator Hayden has carried one of the heaviest loads of all, and yet he is always available for advice and has never failed to be helpful and cooperative when his advice or assistance is requested.

His sympathetic and gracious personality is especially encouraging and helpful to one who first enters this body. When I was a freshman Member of the Senate, in the old days of some 18 years ago, few Senators had the time or the patience to help the uninitiated, but Carl Hayden was always most generous with his time and was never impatient.

Above and beyond his personal qualities as a fine gentleman with a kindly sense of humor, he has always taken a progressive attitude toward America. He has never lent his influence and prestige to the carpers or the critics who see nothing but failure and disaster in the future of our country. He believes in America, and he has done more than any other one of us has done to build a strong and forward-looking nation. I find it difficult to recall any progressive piece of legislation which has not received the support of the senior Senator from Arizona.

I know of no one more beloved by his colleagues or for whom I have greater affection than Carl Hayden.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by the Vice President relating to the 50 years of service in Congress of the President pro tempore of the Senate, the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. Hayden], be printed in the Record at that point where the testimonials and commendatory statements by Senators were being made.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON

The event celebrated today is of such historical significance to the country, and of such personal significance, that the Chair desires to join with those who have already

spoken in paying tribute to the great senior Senator from Arizona.

It is entirely true that the Congress and the country have profited by Senator HAYDEN'S half-century of service in the legislative branch. But the Chair would remind Members that there has been a mutuality of benefit between the country and the Senator from Arizona. For it is given to few men to devote a long lifetime to the betterment of their fellow men; to exert every effort of will and reason toward the enrichment of public life; and, finally, to be so respected by their neighbors and colleagues that they are entrusted with the power to make their exertions effective. Such menfew in number in any society-are themselves enriched by their experience, beyond all measure of counting.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, on this unique occasion, which marks the 50th anniversary of Senator Carl Hayden's illustrious service in Congress to his State of Arizona and his country, it is my privilege to join with my colleagues to remark on this occasion, which, my neighbor, friend, and mentor, Carl Hayden, has made unique.

I add my words to any and all others which may be said, in complete humility; knowing beforehand, that nothing I or anyone else may say now or in the future can add or detract from the actuality of the monumental work and untiring devotion and service which Senator CARL HAYDEN has given and continues to give to his State and country.

Let us say that his public life is made up of many chapters, say 50 chapters one for each of his years in Congress. Each, or any of these chapters alone, would stand out as a complete book of accomplishment and greatness for any man.

His knowledge, his superior judgment, and sheer hard and persevering work have backed his sage advice and efforts and influence on more legislation than any other Congressman or Senator in history.

Thus, surely, he has affected and benefited every man, woman, and child in this country for many years. And will affect and benefit all of us for years to come.

But, aside from the permanent and material benefits which his able and untiring efforts in legislation have made possible to his State of Arizona and his country, and these are numberless, Carl Hayden has lived a life of singular devotion to public office.

In fact, Carl Hayden has written a new and gloriously shining chapter, solely on keeping the faith as a public servant. He has written this glowing chapter simply by the acts of his own faith and high purpose and true accomplishment through hard work.

Few men in the future will even be able to hope to equal Senator Hayden's number of years of accomplishment in the Congress or even in the Senate.

However, all men can hope and try to benefit from the example he has set in living his life of service.

In the years ahead, his exemplary life may well overshadow the great and lasting material benefits which he has been able to provide for his State and Nation.

His vision and foresight and ability have provided unnumbered valuable CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE \* February 19

public benefactions, including dams, public roads and other public works.

But, his humaneness, integrity, and humility—the core of his greatnessmay overshadow all his other great accomplishments in the years to come.

This basic pattern of his life, through inspiration available to all men, in all walks of life, may give benefits beyond price to him who chooses to be guided in daily endeavors by the example of a great American, a great Senator, and my friend, Carl Hayden.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, it is certainly a privilege for me to join in honoring our colleague from Arizona, Senator CARL HAYDEN, on this golden anniversary of his coming to the Congress. For half a century, Senator Hayden has willingly deferred to the more loquacious Members of the House and the Senate to handle the oratory associated with most legislation while he himself has accepted the less glamorous but highly effective role of a worker. His success is known to each of us and to a grateful Nation. In fact, an article on the front page of today's New York Times states factually that few individuals in the history of the Congress "have done so much with so little talk."

On a personal basis, I would like to say that one of the greatest rewards of my public life has been the opportunity to form friendships with some of the outstanding leaders of our Nation, and I surely share the universally accepted fact that CARL HAYDEN is in the forefront of this group.

His reputation as a great American and as a true statesman has been well earned, and he can take justifiable pride in it.

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, it is a great privilege to join with my colleagues in expressing our respect and admiration for, and our gratitude to, the senior Senator from Arizona on this day which marks his completion of 50 years of dedicated service to the people of the United States in the Congress.

No Member of Congress had done more for the Nation and his State than Senator Carl Hayden. Yet he has managed to do his work without fanfare. He has labored long and hard doing the most difficult jobs facing Congress. Whatever the cause, if it has his support, you know it is wise and serves the best interest of the people.

Mr. President, the thing which has impressed me the most concerning the senior Senator from Arizona is his sharing of his experience and wisdom with new Members of the Senate. Even though he carries the heavy responsibilities of President pro tempore and chairman of the Appropriations Committee, he always has time to give a helping hand to freshmen Members of the Senate. During my 18 months in the Senate, much of my education has been received from Senator HAYDEN. ever I have a question concerning legislation, Senate procedure or any other matter, I always know where I can find help in reaching an answer. He is never so busy that he will not share his valuable time and wealth of knowledge. He

is truly a great teacher and a great leader.

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, to know CARL HAYDEN and to serve with him in the Senate is not a unique experience. Several thousands of Members of both Houses of the Congress can be numbered among those who have shared our personal good fortune. But the hundreds of millions of American citizens who have lived during his congressional career should realize the great bounty which has come to us as a nation as a result of Senator HAYDEN's tenure of

Fifty years is a very long time. And for the full length of that time CARL HAYDEN has devoted himself completely to the interests of the people of Arizona and of this entire Nation. Even more than that, however, Senator HAYDEN'S career of public service extends to 1904a grand total of 58 years. I commend the people of Arizona for having recognized so early the extraordinary abilities of this man. Their wise choice has been nobly rewarded.

Senator Hayden is without peer in this Nation's history with respect to length of congressional service. He must also be numbered among a very select few in our entire history about whom it could be said that the course which the United States has pursued through time was due largely to their efforts.

Mr. President, I have found Senator HAYDEN to be a good friend, and an able Senator. But more than that, I have been impressed most forcefully by his almost unique effort to disregard the limelight as he has exercised his very considerable talent and ability to the full. Cicero said it this way: "The higher we are placed, the more humbly should we walk." CARL HAYDEN is that kind of Senator.

I am happy to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to this truly remarkable man, and to wish him good health and happiness in the years ahead.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, it is a deep personal satisfaction to extend to CARL HAYDEN my warm and heartfelt congratulations on this 50th anniversary of his membership in the U.S. Congress. His combined record of service in both the House of Representatives and the Senate is one that has never been duplicated in the past and will probably never be surpassed in the future. It is also most gratifying to know that CARL will add many more years to this golden anniversary.

To catalog Carl Hayden's accomplishments as a devoted and capable public servant would require volumes. His tenure in public life has spanned the most critical years in the life of our Republic; years marked by our greatest period of growth and development and our greatest periods of supreme trials and tribulations in the course of three great wars and the great depression. In spite of this span of years, there is no Member of this body today who works harder in the present and looks forward more zestfully to the future than does our beloved colleague.

The people of Arizona whom he has served so faithfully and so well since the

day the State was admitted to the Union deserve the thanks of all the people in this country for having made this great man available to look after the welfare and interests of all the people of these United States. Every Member of this body likewise owes CARL HAYDEN a lasting debt for the advice and guidance that he has given to each of us, not only when we entered upon our duties as U.S. Senators, but continuing throughout whatever period that each of us may have served.

While we pause today to pay our tribute to 50 full and satisfactory years of unequaled service and devotion, it is even more gratifying to know that this day is just another milepost in the remarkable career of a man still yet far from reaching fulfillment.

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to the senior Senator from Arizona. I wish also to gratefully acknowledge his many kindnesses to me as a Member of the Senate and as a member of his Appropriations Committee.

It was my pleasure to serve on the Senate Rules and Administration Committee when Senator HAYDEN was chairman and he was most considerate and kind as well as being an excellent chair-

I salute him on his tremendous accomplishment and wish 50 more years of happiness for him.

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, Senator HAYDEN, from one of the youngest in terms of Senate service, to you, one of the youngest in heart, come these greetings and congratulations. The devotion shown by your many years of service to your State and country serves as an unparalleled example for the rest of us. Please accept my best wishes to you for many full and satisfactory years yet to come.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, it is with the warmest sense of pleasure that I join in the richly earned tribute to CARL HAYDEN on the occasion of his completion of a half-century of service to his State and to his Nation in the Congress of the United States.

The dedication of CARL's outstanding talents to the manifold duties and responsibilities of his career spans a period of great progress, of tremendous significance in the history of our country. He has contributed notably to that progress by his own spirit and intellect and energy. Carl has won a secure place in the esteem and affection of all of us privileged to serve with him in the Congress of the United States. I extend to him the most heartfelt congratulations and best wishes on this epochal day in his personal history, and in the history of his State and Nation.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with my colleagues in commending the distinguished President pro tempore on this 50th anniversary of his installation as the 1st U.S. Representative from the 48th State, Arizona.

CARL HAYDEN'S long tenure in the Congress, his seniority, if you like, is not the principal reason for his ability to get things done for his State and the

Nation. The main reason why Arizona's senior Senator get things done is that he does not ask for the impossible, only for that which is reasonable. Further, his colleagues on both sides of the aisle know that if Carl Hayden is for a meastre, it is good legislation.

Long ago CARL HAYDEN mastered the art of getting along with his fellow men. He first demonstrated this ability over 50 years ago, when during 5 years as sheriff of the brawling western county in which he was born he never had to use his pistol to keep law and order.

As one of the junior members of this body, of which he is the dean, I can testify that Senator HAYDEN is consistently considerate of new Members, and his counsel and guidance are invaluable.

It is doubtful that any other man will ever equal the 50-year record established here today. It is certain that the U.S. Senate will never again know such a dedicated, self-effacing Member.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I am pleased to join with my colleagues today in paying tribute to the distinguished senior Senator from Arizona. Senator CARL HAYDEN is the oldest Member of this body. I am the youngest. In deference to the fact that many of you have had the privilege of working with Senator HAYDEN through the years, I am not going to take a great deal of time to express my tribute to this wonderful man.

Senator HAYDEN, the people of New Hampshire extend to you their good wishes and congratulations. New Hampshire, traditionally a Republican State, still recognizes the greatness of men such as yourself in the Democratic Party. Your service to the State of Arizona since it joined the Union in 1912 has been marked by your personal courage and integrity. You have been a dedicated Congressman and Senator, and all America is better because of your service here.

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. President, it is a pleasure and a privilege to unite with my colleagues today in paying tribute to CARL HAYDEN on his 50 years in the U.S. Congress.

In the half century that CARL HAYDEN has been a Member of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate he has endeared himself to the countless numbers who have come and gone through the Halls of Congress. He has endeared himself especially to the young freshman Members, who have found him always patient, never patronizing, and ever ready to listen and counsel.

CARL HAYDEN has brought to the U.S. Congress a rare blend of commonsense,

compassion, and dedication.

As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, he has one of the most difficult assignments in Congress. The problems that come before this committee are touchy and complex. Yet, under circumstances that would try most men, CARL HAYDEN consistently maintains a gentle spirit and a fair and reasonable hand.

We in the Senate tend to overuse the word "distinguished," but CARL HAYDEN has the qualities of mind and character that make him in the real sense a distinguished Senator.

I salute Carl Hayden, a great American and a great human being.

Mr. HICKEY. Mr. President, today a rare privilege is given to a junior Senator from Wyoming, to give testimony to the success of the great American governmental philosophies as exemplified in the life an individual who continues to serve his State and his Nation.

The story of a young man who became a member of the Tempe Town Council in 1902 and who now occupies the position of the senior Senator in the U.S. Senate is the story of an individual who has given unselfishly of himself to the justification of making the experiment in self-government work. The record of a man who began as a youngster to exercise the freeman's prerogative of participating in his government at the municipal level and who quickly moved along in government service through the county establishment as county treasurer and county sheriff, to the Congress of the United States, constitutes a tribute to the American way of life and an incentive to the young people of America. It is a true life example from which the world about us can and will profit.

CARL HAYDEN'S devotion to a political party dates further back than his attendance at the national Democratic political convention in 1904, and it has continued through a lifetime of exemplary service in that party. This alone is justification enough to the young people of America to adopt one of the two major political parties and adhere to its principles with loyalty and perseverance.

Serving his country not only as an outstanding public servant but also in the Armed Forces as a major of Infantry in the U.S. Army during World War I, CARL HAYDEN has truly given the full measure of dedication to the cause of freedom in his country, which he continues to serve as the senior Senator of the United States of America, the Senator from the State of Arizona.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, it gives me a great deal of pleasure to have the opportunity to pay tribute to the Honorable CARL HAYDEN on this, the occasion of his 50th anniversary in the Congress of the United States of America. No other man has had the distinction of serving this long in Congress, and I venture to say it will be a long time before another does. This occasion marks a milestone which is befitting a man of such high character, and one who has so well worn the mantle of responsibility which the people of Arizona have had the wisdom to place upon him from the date of admission of that State to the Union until now.

Probably Senator Hayden's remarks in the Congressional Record consume less space than that of any other Senator; however this is by no means an indication of his powerful influence or his accumulation of knowledge over the years. I can say without fear of contradiction that the senior Senator from Arizona is one of the most effective men in the Senate today.

His customary smile and his unfailing courtesy are traits which all of his colleagues could well emulate. I consider

it a distinct privilege to have had the honor to serve in this body with Senator

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. President, I rise to salute the senior Senator from Arizona, CARL HAYDEN, on the 50th anniversary of his service in the Congress.

To several generations of House and Senate Members, CARL HAYDEN has been counselor, friend, and guide, and this is especially true of those of us from the Western States whose problems he knows so well.

On countless occasions his wisdom has saved his colleagues and the people of this country from a trying situation. One incident that particularly comes to mind is the dispute last year over the transmission lines for the Upper Colorado River Basin. Tremendous and conflicting pressures were brought to bear in that dispute. But CARL HAYDEN'S keen mind, his stability and his integrity were a beacon that guided many others. In the end, Senator HAYDEN'S formula was the one which was accepted, and the people of the West are only beginning to learn how much it will benefit them for decades to come.

This episode was only one of many which our friend from Arizona has handled in his characteristic quiet and effective way. Perhaps no one is quite so much the target of pressures, of threats and blandishments and pleas, as is the chairman of the Appropriations Everybody wants some-Committee. thing from him, or wants him to deny something to someone else. Through all this our friend from Arizona has remained fair and firm to all.

Arizona and the West and our country and the world have changed in the last 50 years in ways that could not have been imagined when CARL HAYDEN began his service in the Congress. CARL has never looked back. Unlike some younger men, he knows that our world is changing, willy-nilly, and that we have to keep running just to stay where we

His voice is seldom heard in debate, but his influence is felt, and felt deeply, in every important action taken by this body. He is a Senator's Senator.

It is almost impossible for me to imagine a Senate Appropriations Committee headed by anyone else, or indeed a U.S. Senate without CARL HAYDEN. May he be with us to share his wisdom and wit, his vision and courage for many, many more years to come.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, today we here join in tribute to a colleague who has achieved an unprecedented record of service in the Senate of the United States. His work in Congress has embraced the entire period of statehood for Arizona; he has exerted many forms of service for his State and for the Nation. It is a privilege to join in the comments made today for Senator CARL HAYDEN, but I think one of the best tributes paid to him was made in the February-March 1962 issue of Arizona Highways previously made a part of the RECORD by Senator Yarborough. Mr. Charles Franklin Parker, the author of the article, has given us a warm account of Senator Hayden's contributions over the years; he reports that: "CARL HAYDEN escapes the usual formula. He is honored by all—partisan or not. He is an Arizonian without peer, an American statesman unique in his position." I know that all those who have been privileged to serve as his colleagues will unanimously agree.

Mr. CANNON. Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to add my voice to the many that are heard today in tribute to the 50 years of congressional service of our esteement colleague, Senter Carl Harry and Arigona

ator Carl Hayden, of Arizona.

Senator Hayden has been a vital part in the growth and development of Arizona since the admission of that great State to the Union. His entire life contains the record of the development of the State which gave him birth and for which he has labored so unfailingly.

But his record in the Congress and in the Senate has been without equal in the Nation's history. His voice has been a vibrant and progressive one through the modern developments of the United States.

I am particularly grateful for the warmth of his friendship and the cooperation which he has always given to me and to the younger Senators who came to Washington lacking the experience which he so greatly possesses. I think it fitting that the Nation and particularly the Senate commend him at this eventful moment in his life and in the life of the State of Arizona, which Carl Hayden has represented so well and so faithfully for half a century.

Thank you Mr. President.

Mr. SMITH of Massachusetts. Mr. President, it is a privilege for me to be able to join in the tribute to the senior Senator from Arizona. Senator Hayden began his service in Congress before many of us in this Chamber were born. His career here spans a half century, during which our country developed into the most modern of nations and the leader of the world.

It is impossible to estimate how much of our Nation's growth is due to him. Every Senator in this Chamber has benefited from his kind counsel and patient wisdom. Every State in the Union has benefited from his hard work and dedication. Every person in America benefits from the skill with which he supervises the affairs of the Appropriation Committee.

Truly it can be said of CARL HAYDEN that if he would seek a monument he should look about him—at his colleagues who revere him, at a people who respect him and at a Nation which has been enriched beyond measure by the fruits of his labors.

I congratulate him on this anniversary and I sincerely hope he will be able to continue his service for a long time to come.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I should like to identify myself with the many congratulations which have been extended today to Senator Hayden, and the respects which have been so properly paid to one of our very distinguished Senators, on the great record he has set in the Senate, during the long and fruitful life he has lived. I wish also to express my pleasure at the alertness and

the capacity with which he handles his responsibility as chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, and the great pleasure which all of us have in seeing how the years of his service in this greatest of all deliberative bodies wear so well upon one of our Members who has been through so many legislative struggles that Senator HAYDEN has.

I join my colleagues in bespeaking for him many years of continued good health and valuable service to the Nation and to the free world.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished Senator from Maine [Mr. Muskie], who is absent because of illness, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point a statement prepared by him in tribute to the senior Senator from Arizona [Mr. HAYDEN].

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TRIBUTE BY SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE

Few men in the history of our country have matched the record of service achieved by our beloved President pro tempore, Senator HAYDEN. I doubt that many will in the future.

If his contribution as a Member of Congress were measured simply in terms of his length of service it would be impressive enough. He was first elected as a Member of the House of Representatives when Arizona became a State. I am not a little awed when I reflect that he was sworn in as a Member of the House 2 years before I was born. He came to the Senate when I was a student in the eighth grade.

But Senator HAYDEN does not rank first in the Senate simply because of his longevity. He is honored for the devotion he has given to the service of his State and Nation, for his steadfast dedication to the principles of democracy, and for the wisdom he has brought to the councils of government in peace and war.

I shall always be honored to say that I have served with Senator HAYDEN in the Senate of the United States. It is a privilege and a challenge to be counted one of his colleagues. I salute him and the State which he represents.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to Senate Resolution 296, submitted by the Senator from Montana [Mr. Mansfield] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN].

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate I wish to state that tomorrow a motion will be made to discharge the Committee on Government Operations from further consideration of Reorganization Plan No. 1, which is the Department of Urban Affairs proposal. It is my understanding that when the motion is made, debate will be limited to 1 hour, and that a vote will be taken on the motion, if one is desired.

In the form of a parliamentary inquiry, is that statement correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The statement is correct. One hour of debate is permitted on a motion to discharge the committee.

#### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate concludes its deliberations today it stand in adjournment to meet at 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. With-out objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF ACT ESTABLISH-ING CODE OF LAW FOR THE DIS-TRICT OF COLUMBIA

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated by title.

The Legislative Clerk. A bill (H.R. 5143) to amend section 801 of the act entitled "An act to establish a code of law for the District of Columbia," approved March 3, 1901.

# PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, we have heard the announcement by the majority leader as to the schedule tomorrow, which means that at 12 o'clock or soon thereafter there will be a motion to discharge the committee. I presume, if the motion is successful, there will be a move to consider immediately the reorganization proposal of the President.

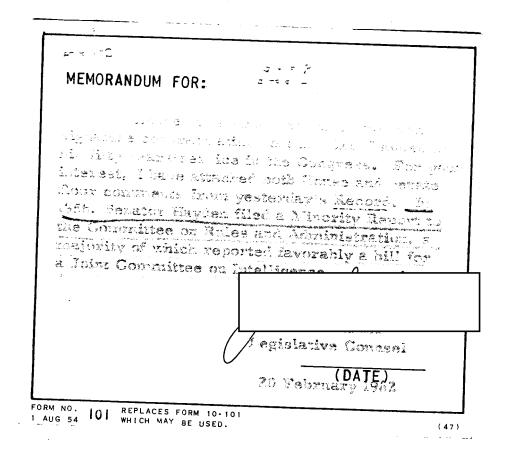
Mr. MANSFIELD. The Senator is

Mr. MUNDT. While I am against the motion to discharge the committee, that is not my primary purpose for taking the floor this afternoon. I wish to say, however, in the presence of the chairman of our committee, I think the diligence which the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McClellan] and our committe have devoted to this problem really does not justify the Senate taking such precipitate action to discharge the committee.

We have held hearings even during the annual slowdown period of the Lincoln Day recess. The committee was in session and held hearings.

The hearings are not yet printed and available to the Members of the Senate, through no fault of the committee, but solely because during the course of the hearings some requests were made for additional information from the Bureau of the Budget, which the Bureau of the Budget agreed to supply, which it has not yet been able to compile and provide so that the hearings can be completed and printed.

I submit, for the general consideration of the Senate in guiding the course of action tomorrow, when Senators will be called upon to vote, that the Senate should not discharge a committee which has been diligently endeavoring to get down to the facts, which has been holding hearings which will be invaluable to the Members of the Senate in helping them to arrive at a sound and appropriate conclusion, before the hearings can be printed and the information made available. First, it seems to me to do so would be unduly attempting to destroy the committee function and the responsibility of the committee system; and, second, it would sort of make a trav-



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